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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1867.

The Initial Coinage of Bengal.—*By* EDWARD THOMAS, *Esq.*

[Received December 5th, 1866. Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. ii. p. I. N. S.]

Towards the end of August, 1863, an unusually large hoard of coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces of silver, was found in the Protected State of Kooch Behár, in Northern Bengal, the contents of which were consigned, in the ordinary payment of revenue, to the Imperial Treasury in Calcutta. Advantage was wisely sought to be taken of the possible archæological interest of such a discovery, in selections directed to be made from the general bulk to enrich the medal cabinets of the local Mint and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The task of selection, and with it of inevitably final rejection, was entrusted to Bábu Rajendra Lál Mitra—an experienced scholar in many branches of Sanskrit literature, and who, in the absence of more practised Numismatists, courageously encountered the novel study and impromptu exposition of Semitic Palæography as practically developed in his own native land six centuries ago. The Bábu, after having assiduously completed his selections for the Government,* was considerate enough to devote himself to renewed and more critical examinations of this mass of coined metal, with a view to secure for Colonel C. S. Guthrie (late of the Bengal Engineers), any examples of importance that might have escaped his earlier investigations. The result has been that more than a thousand additional specimens have been rescued from the

* J. A. S. Bengal, 1864, p. 480.

Presidency Mint crucibles, and now contribute the leading materials for the subjoined monograph.

An autumnal fall of a river bank, not far removed from the traditional capital of *Kunteswar Rája*, a king of mark in provincial annals,* disclosed to modern eyes the hidden treasure of some credulous mortal who, in olden time, entrusted his wealth to the keeping of an alluvial soil, carefully stored and secured in brass vessels specially constructed for the purpose, but destined to contribute undesignedly to an alien inheritance, and a disentombment at a period much posterior to that contemplated by its depositor. This accumulation, so singular in its numerical amount, is not the less remarkable in the details of its component elements—whether as regards the, so to say, newness and sharpness of outline of the majority of the pieces themselves, the peculiarly local character of the whole collection, or its extremely limited range in point of time. It may be said to embrace compactly the records of ten kings, ten mint cities, and to represent 107 years of the annals of the country. The date of its inhumation may be fixed, almost with precision, towards the end of the eighth century A. H., or the fourteenth century A. D. A very limited proportion of the entire aggregation was contributed by external currencies, and the imperial metropolis of Dehli alone intervenes to disturb the purely indigenous issues, and that merely to the extent of *less* than 150 out of the 13,500 otherwise unmixed produce of Bengal Mints.†

The exclusively home characteristics of the great majority of the collection are enlivened by the occasional intrusion of mementoes of

* Col. J. C. Haughton, to whom we are mainly indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvaille*, has been so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities. Col. Haughton writes:—"The place where the coin was found is about three miles S. W. of Deenhatta, not far from the Temple of Kunteswaree (or Komit-Eswaree) on the banks of the river Dhurla. Near to this temple is a place called Gosain Moraee, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kuntesur Raja's capital, called Kunteswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotahs*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron *spike* passing from side to side."

† I wish to explain the reservations I make in thus stating this total below that given in Rajendra Lál's list of 150 coins of *seven* Dehli kings (J. A. S. B.,

imperial re-assertions, and numismatic contributions from other independent sources aid in the casual illustration of the varying political conditions of the province, and of the relations maintained from time to time between the too-independent governors of a distant principality and their liege suzerains at Dehli.

Muhammadan writers have incidentally preserved a record of the fact, that on the first entry of their armies into Bengal, they found an exclusive *cowrie* or shell currency, assisted possibly by bullion in the larger payments, but associated with no coined money of any description ;* a heritage of primitive barter, indeed, which survived undis-

September, 1864, p. 481). In the first place, I greatly mistrust the reading of the sixth king's title. Muhammad bin Tughlak was called *Fakhrul-dín* Júnah in his youth only ; on his first mission to the Dakhin in 721 A. H., the higher title of *Ulugh Khán* was conferred upon him by his father, but from the date of his accession to the throne of Hindustan, he contented himself with the use of his simple name and patronymic ; no longer the "glory of the faith," he was the far more humble الرحمن الوثق بتائيد , or the conventional المجاهد في سبيل الله (Zia-i-Barní., Calcutta edit., p. 196), both of which were so persistently copied by the independent Bengal Sultans. Certainly no such title as فخر الدين occurs on *any* of the specimens of the *Kooch Bahár* collection, that the Bábu has selected for Col. Guthrie, with the exception of those bearing the names of Fakr-ud-din *Mubárak Sháh*.

The second question of the altogether improbable intrusion of coins of Muhammad Ádil Sháh ("new type") I must meet in a more direct way, by assigning the supposed examples of his money to the potentate from whose mints they really came, that is, *Ikhtiár-ud-dín* Ghází Sháh (No. 7, infra), giving a difference in the age of the two kings, as far as their epochs affect the probable date of the concealment of this trouvaille, of more than two centuries (753 A.H. against 960 A.H.).[a] The Bábu has himself discovered his early error of making Shams-ud-dín Firúz, *one of the Dehlí Patháns* (as reported in the local newspapers), and transferred him, in the printed proceedings in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to an anomalous position at the end of the Bengal Pathans (p. 483), while omitting to deduct him from the total number of "*eight* Dehlí Patháns," which reckoning has been allowed to stand at p. 480. In the matter of date, we are not informed why this king should be assigned to A.D. 1491, instead of to the true 1320 A.D. which history claims for him.

* Minháj-ul-Seráj, who was resident in Lakhnauti in A.H. 641, writes چنان تقرر یر کردند که دران بلاد کوده بعوض چیل روان است Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 149, Calcutta printed edition (1864). Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldive Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice ; the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows : سیاه = 100 cowries. فال = 700·

[a] The title of Mohammed bin Toghlak on the specimens in the Society's cabinet is المجاهد في سبيل الله and the coin which was first taken for that of Adil Shah has on it *Ikhtiar uddin Ghazi Shah*.—Ed.

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turbed in many of the out-lying districts up to the early part of the present century. The consistent adherence of the people to this simple medium of exchange, goes far to explain an enigma recently adverted to* in my paper on the identity of Kraṇanda as to the general absence of all specimens of money of high antiquity within certain limits northward of the seaboard, and may serve to reconcile the anomaly of conterminous nationalities appearing in such different degrees of advancement when tried by similar isolated tests of local habitudes. For the rest, the arms of Islám clearly brought with them into Bengal what modern civilization deems a fiscal necessity—a scheme of national coinage; and the present enquiry is concerned to determine when and in what form the conquerors applied the theory and practice they themselves as yet but imperfectly realized.

When Muhammad bin Sám had so far consolidated his early successes in India, into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, while his own court was still held at Ghazní, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the* faith beyond the limits already acquired; in pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiár Khiljí, *Sipahsálár* in Oude, in A. H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnautí, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A. H. 602.

كتّي=12,000. بُستو=100,000, four *bustús* were estimated as worth one gold *dínár*; but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dínár* would purchase as many as twelve *bustús*, or twelve lakhs of cowries! (French edit., iv., p. 121. Lee's Translation, p. 178.) Sir Henry Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries; in 1756, for 2,560 cowries; and (1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee."—Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373. They were estimated in the currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee.—Prinsep's U. T., p. 2. Major Rennell, who was in Silhet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks: "I found no other currency of any kind in the country; and upon an occasion, when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion."—Hamilton's Hindostan, London, 1820, i. p. 195.

* J. R. A. S., vol. i., N. S., p. 473-4.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuations by shells,—which would certainly not invite a hasty issue of coin,—Muhammad Bakhtiar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-dín, who, so far as can be seen, uttered no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special, Medallic mintage constituting a sort of numismatic Fatah-námah, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, and designedly avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.

Similar motives may be taken to have prevailed in the north, where the least possible change was made in the established currency of the country, extending, indeed, to a mere substitution of names in the vernacular character on the coin, which was allowed to retain the typical "Bull and Horseman" device of Prithvi Rája and his predecessors. The pieces themselves, designated from their place of mintage *Dehli-walas*,* were composed of a mixture of silver and copper in intentionally graduated proportions, but of the one fixed weight of thirty-two ratis, or the measure of the old *Purána* of silver of Manu's day. Progressive modifications were effected in the types and legends of these coins, but no systematic reconstruction of the circulating media took place until the reign of Altamsh; who, however, left the existing currencies undisturbed, as the basis for the introduction of the larger and more valuable and exclusively silver لغضة popularly known in after times as the *Tankah*,† a standard which may also be supposed

* The name is written دلي ال in Kutb-ud-din Aibek's inscription on the mosque at Dehli. (Prinsep's Essays, i. 327). The Táj-ul-Maásir and other native authorities give the word as دهليول. Hasan Nizami, the author of the former work, mentions that Kubáchah, ruler of Sind, sent his son with an offering of 100 láks of Dehli-wals to Altamsh, and no less than 500 láks of the same description of coin were eventually found in Kubácháh's treasury, many of which were probably struck in his own mints. (See Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx., fig. 19; J. A. S. B., iv., pl. 37, figs. 28, 29, 47; and Prinsep's Essays, i., pl. xxvi., figs. 28, 29, 47.)

† Erskine derives this name from the Chagatai Túrki word, *tang*, "white." (History of India under Báber. London, 1854, vol. i. p. 546). Vullers gives a tenuis, suff. ɣ). Ibn Batutah carefully preserves the orthography as تنگه, different and clearly preferable derivation in تنگه (fort. ex. تُنُک s. تنگ s. टंक and टङ्क.

to have followed traditional weights in the contents assigned to it, as the 96 rati-piece modern ideas would identify with the *Tolah :* or it may possibly have been originated as a new 100 rati coin, a decimal innovation on the primitive Hindu reckoning by fours, a point which remains to be determined by the correct ascertainment of the normal weight of the rati, which is still a debated question. My own results, obtained from comparative Numismatic data of various ages, point to 1.75 grains,* while General Cunningham adheres to the higher figures of 1.8229 grains.†

* J. A. S. Bengal, 1865, p. 25, and Numismatic Chronicle. Vol iv., N. S. p. 131, March, 1864.

† General Cunningham's deductions are founded on the following estimates: —"I have been collecting materials for the same subject [Indian Weights] for nearly twenty years, and I have made many curious discoveries. I see that Mr. Thomas quotes Sir William Jones as fixing the weight of the *Krishnala*, or *Rati* seed, at $1\frac{5}{16}$ grain; but I am satisfied that this is a simple misprint of Jones's manuscript for $1\frac{5}{6}$ or 1·833 grain, which is as nearly as possible the average weight of thousands of seeds which I have tested. The great unit of mediæval and modern times is the *táka* of not less than 145 grains, of which six make the *chha-táka*, or *chhatak*, equal to 870 grains, or nearly two ounces; and 100 make the *sataka*, or *ser*, the derivation being *sat-táka*, or 100 *tákas*. For convenience I have taken, in all my calculations, the *rati* seed at 1·8229 grain. Then 80 *ratis* or 145·832 was the weight of the *tangka* of copper, and also of the golden *suvarna*, which multiplied by six gives 874.99 grains, or exactly two ounces for the *chha-táka* or chhatak."—J. A. S. Bengal, 1865, page 46.

Mr. N. S. Maskelyne, of the Mineral Department, British Museum, who, some time ago, entered into an elaborate series of comparisons of Oriental weights, with a view to determine the identity of one of our most celebrated Indian diamonds, has been so obliging as to draw up for me the following memorandum, exhibiting the bearing of an entirely independent set of data upon the question under review, the true weight of the Indian *Rati*. The value of this contribution in itself, and the difficulty of doing justice to it in an abstract, must plead my excuse for printing it in extenso in this place :—

I shall confine my answer to your question about the rati to the estimate of it, as derived from the Mishkâl. The other channel of enquiry, that namely of Hindoo metrology and numismatics, is too complicated, and so far as I have been able to follow it, too unsatisfactory in its results, to justify my urging any arguments derived from it. Indeed, the oscillations in the currencies, and our knowing so few very fine coins of reigns before Shír Shah, of critical value, make this branch of the subject almost unapproachable to one who is not an Oriental scholar. I would premise, however, that I do not believe very accurate results are to be obtained solely from the weights of coins, except in the few cases where, as in the coins of Akbar, or of Abd-el-Malek ben Merwán, we have some literary statements about them. Nor can you get any result from weighing carob beans to determine the carat, or abrus seeds to determine the *rati*. I weighed, long ago, hundreds of ratis, that Dr. Daubeny lent me, with an average of 1.694 troy grains. Sir William Jones found, I believe, one of 1.318, and Professor Wilson, I think, another value again. They vary according to the soil and climate they are grown in, and the time and atmosphere they have been kept in.

My investigation of the rati originated in a desire to determine whether the diamond, now the Queen's, was the same that Baber records as having been given to Humayûn at the taking of Agra, after the battle of Paniput, and which

However, these silver coins of Altamsh, let their primary static ideal have been based upon a duplication of the dirhams of Ghazni,

had once belonged to Alá-ed-dín (Khilji). I also was led to suppose that the diamond Tavernier saw at the Court of Aurungzebe was the same, and that he had confounded it with one that Meer Jumla gave to Sháh Jehán, and that had been recently found at Golconda. I would here observe that Tavernier's weights can be very little trusted; I can give you my reasons for this assertion, if you wish for them.

Báber, in his memoirs, says the weight of Humáyún's diamond was about 8 mishkáls. In his description of India, he gives the following ratios of the weights in use there:—

8 ratis	=	1 máshah.					
32 „	=	4 „	=	1 Tang (Tank).			
40 „	=	5 „	=	=	=	1 mishkál.	
96 „	=	12 „	=	=	=	1 Tola.	

Jewels and precious stones being estimated by the tang. Furthermore he states 14 tolas = 1 sir, 40 sírs = 1 man etc. Thus, then, the 8 mishkáls would be 320 ratis.

Tavernier says the diamond he saw weighed 319½ ratis. The Koh-i-Núr, in 1851 (and, I believe, in Baber's day also), weighed 589.5 grains troy. The theory that it was Alá-ed dín's diamond, would demand—

a mishkál	(8)	weight of	73.7 grains.
a tola	(3⅓)	„	176.85 „
a tank	(10)	„	58.95 „
a másha	(40)	„	14.745 „
a rati	(320 of 8 to the masha)		1.8425 „
——	(240 of 6 „)		2.533 „

Now, as to the mishkál—the Mahommadan writers speak of it as not having altered from the days of the Prophet. Doubtless, it has been a pretty permanent weight, and very likely, in Makrizi's time, was but slightly various in different places. At present, the following table represents the different mishkáls, so far as I have been able to ascertain them.

The gold and silver mishkál of *Bassorah* = 1½ dirham	= 72 grains.
The „ „ mussal or mishkal of *Gamroon* (71.75 miscals = 100 mahmoudias = 5136 grains)	= 71.6. „
The gold and silver miscal of *Mocha* = 24 carats = $24\frac{1}{160}$ vakya (of 480 grains, nearly)	= 72 „
That of *Bushire* = $\frac{1}{72\,0}$ of a maund of 53784 grains	= 74.7 „
The metical of *Aleppo* and *Algiers*	= 73 „
The „ of *Tripoli*	= 73.6 „
In *Persian*, the demi mishkál = $\frac{1}{120\,0}$ of the batman of Chessay (of 8871 grains)	= 73.96 „
The taurid batman and mishkál = half the above	
The mishkál corresponding to the (½) dirham used for gold and silver, in Persia	= 74.5 „
The abbasi corresponding to 1 mishkál, Marsden says	= 72 „
The modern debased mishkál of *Bokhara*	= 71 „

Báber, in speaking of the mishkál, may either mean his own Bokharan mishkál, or, as seems more probable, the current mishkál as existing at that time in India, in short, the "Indian or Syrian mishkál" of the Mahommadan writers—which was the Greek mishkál + 2 kirats. The modern debased mishkál of Bokhara we may leave out of our comparisons. It is surely a degraded weight in a country that has undergone an eclipse.

The old "Greek Dinar" is of course the Byzant, or solidus aureus—the denarius of Byzantium. It was nominally coined 72 to the Roman lb. The Byzantian Roman lb. in the British Museum weighs 4995 grains, so the solidus

or, as is more probable, elaborated out of the elements of ancient

was *nominally* coined at 69.4 grains. It *really* issued from the mint at a maximum weight of 68 (a very few of the most finely preserved coins reaching this amount). Now taking Makrizi's statement that the mishkâl was 24 kirats, and that of the Ayin-i-Akberi that the Greek mishkâl was 2 kirats less than this; we find the weight of the mishkâl $= 68 + \frac{68}{11} = 74.18$ grains troy. Again, Makrizi mentions that Abdel-malek-ben-Merwah coined dinars and dirhams in the ratios of $21\frac{3}{4}$ kirats : 15 kirats. Now this Caliph's gold coins in the British Museum (in a very fine state of preservation), weigh 66.5 grains, and his silver, also well preserved, 44.5. Taking the former as coined at 67, we have the ratio:

Dinar : Dirham $= 21\frac{3}{4} : 15 = 67 : 46.2$,

Which latter gives a probable weight for the dirham as originally coined. (In Makrizi's time the ratio was dinar : dirham $= 10 : 7 = 21.75 : 15.22$; or supposing the gold coin unchanged at 67, the silver dirham would become 46.88). Then, as the ratio of the dinar (or gold mishkâl) to the mishkâl weight $= 21\frac{3}{4} : 24$, we have for the mishkâl weight a value of 73.93 grains.

These two values, thus severally adduced from different data—viz., 74.18 and 73.93—sufficiently nearly accord to justify, I think, our striking the balance between them, and declaring of the ancient mishkâl—("the Syrian or Indian mishkâl") to have been very nearly 74 grains. Hence the kirats would be 3.133 grains, troy. The modern carat varies from 3.15; the modern Indian carat to 3.28, the old French carat (made this probably to be an aliquot part of the old French ounce). The English carat $= 3.168$; the Hamburgh $= 3.176$, and the Portuguese $= 3.171$.

The above value of the mishkâl accords extremely well with my theory about the diamond.

That the "Greek Dinar" of Makrizi was the Sassanian gold is not at all likely, although the silver dirham was, no doubt, originally derived from the Sassanian drachma. Of the few gold pieces of Sassanian coinage, the one in the Museum, of Ardashir I., weighs now 65.5, and could not have been coined at less than 66.5 grains—which would give a mishkâl of 72.04. But under the Sassanidæ, the gold coinage was quite exceptional, and was not large enough to have formed the basis of the monetary system of the Caliphs, which was professedly founded on Greek coins, *current*.

As to the Bokháran mishkâl of Báber's time, how are we to arrive at it? You—and if you can't, who can?—are able to make little firm ground out of the weights of Sassanian, or Ghasnavid coins—nor will the coins of the Ayubite, Mamluke and Mamluke Bahrite Caliphs (of which I have weighed scores), give any much more reliable units on which to base the history of the progress of change in the mishkâl. The limits of its variation in modern times seem to have lain between 74.5 and 72 troy grains; I believe 74 as a near as possible its true original weight, the weight of the Syrian and of the Indian mishkâl. This would give the rati on the goldsmith's standard of 8 to the masha, and 49 to the mishkâl, as 1.85 grains, and the limits of this rati would be 1.862 and 1.80. The value of the jeweller's rati (6 to the mashi) would be for the 74 grain mishkâl 2.47 grains, and its limits would be 2.483 and 2.40.

That Báber's and Humayûn's now worn and dilapidated coins of 71 and 71.5 grains were mishkâls, is not improbable; but they certainly were not coined at less than 74 grains.

Without entering into the Indian numismatical question, I may remind you of Tuglak's coin of 174 grains (one in the British Museum $= 172.25$), probably coined at 175 or 176; a fair weight of issue for a coin nominally of some 177 or 178 grains. These coins, I believe, you consider to represent the tola. A tola of 177.6 would accord on the ratios of Báber's table with a mishkâl of 74 grains. I am strongly tempted to enter further into this question of the ponderary systems of India, but I am warned by your own able papers of the difficulties in the path of one who deals only in translations and in the weight of coins.

24th Nov., 1865.

Indian Metrology—may be quoted in their surviving integrity of weight and design, as having furnished the prototypes of a long line of sequent Dehli mintages, and thus contributing the manifest introductory model of all Bengal coinages.*

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints, though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventiona-

* There three are varieties of Altamsh's silver coinage, all showing more or less the imperfection of the training of the Indian artists in the reproduction of the official alphabet of their conquerors. The designs of these pieces were clearly taken from the old Ghaznf model of Muhammad bin Sám's Dirhams and Dínárs, and the indeterminate form of the device itself would seem to indicate that they mark the initial effort of the new Muhammadan silver currency which so soon fixed itself into one unvarying type, and retained its crude and unimproved lettering for upwards of a century, till Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign by the issue of those choice specimens of the Moneyer's art which stand without compeers in the Dehli series.

No. 1, Silver. Size, vii.; weight, 162.5. Supposed to have been struck on the receipt of the recognition of the Khalif of Baghdád in 626 A. H.

Obverse: square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, لا اله الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse: Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, فى عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين

No. 2, Silver. Size, viii; weight, 168.5. Date, 630 A. H.

Obverse: Square area, with double lines,

Legend, السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر اليتمس السلطان ناصر امير المومنين

Reverse: Circular area.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر
امير المومنين

Margin, ضرب هذا الله

Mr. Bayley notices the occasional change of the name of the piece to the generic السكة as well as the ignorant substitution of المستنصر با مر الله for the Khalif's true title. J. A. S. B., 1862, p. 207. Col. Guthrie's coin (Type No. 2) discloses a similar error.

Legend, في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومين
Margin, ضرب هذة الفضة

No. 3, Silver. Size, viii.; weight, 163.5 gr.

Obverse, as No. 2, but the square area is enclosed in a circle.

Reverse: Square area enclosed within a circle, identical with the obverse design.

lism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, and, as the plates will show, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins, a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the present series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (No. 23 infrâ). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak, were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends, but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it capital—of Lakhnautí, evince the haste and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and still worse, the hand of a local artist, all which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who in his own imperial metropolis had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in their later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever recurring *kalimah*, and in the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formula; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the

early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find determines is, that though the first kings on the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well understood Indian process of boring-out, or reduction to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káús and Fírúz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges; or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and be held to represent coin which could scarcely have changed hands.

The intrinsic value of the money of these sovereigns follows next in the order of the enquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy; but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native Mint-masters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far, representing a sequent eighty years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity; the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstituted honours and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak, on his restoration to the government of

Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies; while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, Azam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains. Among other unexpected items for which the aid of modern science may be credited, is the support which the intrinsic contents of the erroneously-classed coins of Adil Sháh under native interpretation, lend to the correctness of the revised attribution of the pieces themselves suggested by the critical terms of their own legends, in the manifest identity of their assay touch with the associate coins of the lower empire of India.

Colonel Guthrie has furnished me with the following data, concerning the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahár hoard:—"When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the Mint, two being for special assay, two for the Mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity):"

DEHLI COINS.

1. Balban (A. H. 664) ... 990 and 996
2. Kai Kobád (A.H. 685) 990 and 996
3. Ghiás-ud-din Tughlak (A. H. 720) 990.
4. Adil Sháh [*i. e.* Ghází Sháh of Bengal, A.H. 751] 989.

BENGAL COINS.

1. Shams-ud-din Firuz..... 989
2. Bahádur Sháh 988 and 993
3. Mubárak Sháh 987
4. Iliás Sháh (1st type) 989; (2nd) 982; (3rd) 988.
5. Sikandar Sháh (return lost).
6. Azam Sháh (1st type) 981; (2nd) 989; (3rd) 962; (4th) 977; (5th) 985.

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India, has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs referred to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital by any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver; but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* "Tankah of Silver" (تنکه نقره) a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (تنکه سیاه). Nizám-ud-din Ahmad, in his Tabakát-i-Akbari, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent, before he re-

sorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of, even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizám-ud-din attributes the issue of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly-enthroned monarch. However, the real debasement of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and Azam Sháh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement; while, on the other hand, Muhammad bin Tughlak, on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens, seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues, as I can quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli Mint in A. H. 734, which has every outward appearance of the component elements of unalloyed silver, and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.* All these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognised alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of black Tankahs. Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A. H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tirhút, a sort of border-land of his kingdom, which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Siáh*,† an exceptional association of cur-

* This coin is similar, but not identical in its legends with the gold piece, No. 84, of 736 A. H., p. 50 Pathán Sultáns. The following are the inscriptions:

Obverse— والله الغني و انتم الفقرا

Reverse— في عهد محمدبن تغلق

Margin— بدار الاسلام سنة اربع و ثلثين وسبعماية

† Báber has left an interesting account of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom in India, as estimated after the battle of Panipat, in A. H. 932, to the effect that "the countries from Bhíra to Bahár which are now under my dominion yield a revenue of 52 krores" of Tankahs. In the detail of the returns from different provinces, Tirhút is noticed as Tribute (Khidmatána) of the Tirhúti Rajah 250,000 *tankah núkrah*, and 2,750,000 *tankah siáh*. William Erskine, History of India under Báber and Humáyun, London, 1854, vol. i., p. 540. See also Leyden's Memoirs of Báber, London, 1826, p. 334.

rencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional estimate piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, constituting the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the conquering Moghul's Indian dominions.

Another important element of all currency questions is the relative rate of exchange of the precious metals *inter se*. And this is a division of the enquiry of peculiar significance at the present moment, when Her Majesty's Government are under pressure by the European interest to introduce gold as a legal tender at a fixed and permanent rate, or, in effect, to supersede the existing silver standard, the single and incontestable measure of value, in which all modern obligations have been contracted, and a metal, whose present market price is, in all human probability, less liable to be affected by over production than that of gold: the bullion value of which latter had already begun to decline in the Bazárs of India, simultaneously with the arrival of the first fruits of Australian mining.

If the contemplated authoritative revolution in the established currency had to be applied to a fully civilized people, there might be less objection to this premature experiment; but to disturb the dealings of an empire, peopled by races of extreme fixity of ideas, to give advantages to the crafty few, to the detriment of the mass of the unlettered population, is scarcely justified by the exigencies of British trade, and India's well-wishers may fairly advance a mild protest against hasty legislation, and claim for a subject and but little understood Nationality, some consideration before the ruling power forces on their unprepared minds the advanced commercial tenets of the cities of London and Liverpool.

The ordinary rate of exchange of silver against gold in Marco Polo's time (1271-91 A. D.),* may be inferred to have been eight to one;

* The Province of KARAJAN. "For money they employ the white porcelain shell found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver, or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver to one of pure gold." Chap. xxxix.

The Province of KARAZAN. "Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity obtained, they give a saggio of gold for six saggi of silver. They likewise use the before-mentioned porcelain shells in currency, which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are

though exceptional cases are mentioned in localities within the reach of Indian traders, where the ratios of six to one and five to one severally obtained.

Ibn Batutah, in the middle of the fourteenth century, when he was, so to say, resident and domesticated in India, reports the relative values of the metals as eight to one.*

brought from India."—Chap. xl.; also Pinkerton (London, 1811), vol. vii., 143.

The Province of KARDANDAN. "The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a saggio of gold for five saggi of silver; there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold; and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit." Chap. xli.

The Kingdom of MIEN (*Ava*). "You then reach a spacious plain [at the foot of the Yunnan range], whereon, three days in every week, a number of people assemble, many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose; and one saggio of gold is given for five of silver." Chap. xliii. Travels of Marco Polo, by W. Marsden, London, 1818; and Bohn's Edition, 1854.

* رايت الأرز يباع في اسواقها خمسة و عشرين رطلا دهلية بدينار فضى

iv. 10, الدينار الفضى هو ثمانية دراهم و درهمهم كالدار هم النقرة سواء

"J'ai vu vendre le riz, dans les marchés de ce pays [Bengale], sur le pied de vingt-cinq rithl de Dihly pour un dínár d'argent: celui-ci vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument á la drachme d'argent." (iv. 210.)

The difficulty of arriving at any thoroughly satisfactory interpretation of theocbscure Arabic text, as it now stands, may be frankly admitted, nor do I seek to alter or amend the French translation, further than to offer a very simple explanation of what probably the author really designed to convey in the general tenor of the passage in question. It was a crude but established custom among the early Muhammadan occupying conquerors of India, to issue gold and silver coins of equal weights, indentical fabric, and analogous central legends; hence, whenever, as in the present instance, the word *Dînár* is used in apposition with and contrast to the secondary term *Dírham*, the one *primâ facie* implies gold, the other silver; and there can be little doubt but that the original design of the text was to specify that one gold piece of a given weight passed *in situ* for eight silver pieces in similar form and of slightly greater bulk. It is possible that the term *Dínár* may in process of time have come to stand for a conventional measure of value, like the "pound sterling," susceptible by common consent of being liquidated in the due equivalent of silver; but this concession need not affect the direct contrast between the Dínár and Dirhams so obviously marked in the case in point.

Ibn Batutah, in an earlier part of his work (iii. 426), [Lee's edition is imperfect at this portion, p. 149] gives us the comparative Delhi rate of exchange—of which he had unpleasant personal experiences: he relates that he was directed to be paid (55,000 + 12,000 =) 67,000 pieces of some well understood currency, neither the name or the metal of which is defined, but which may legitimately be taken to have been "Silver Tankahs," and in satisfaction of this amount, deducting the established one-tenth for *Dastúrí*, which left a reduced total of 60,300, he received 6,233 gold tankahs. Under this scale of payment the gold must have borne a rate of exchange of one to 9.67 of silver, or very nearly one to 10, a proportion which might be supposed to clash with the one to eight of the more southern kingdom, but the existing state of the currencies of the two localities afford a striking illustration of the consistency

The Emperor Akbar's minister, Abúl Fazl, has left an official record of the value of gold in the second half of the sixteenth century, at which period the price was on the rise, so that the mints were issuing gold coin in the relation of one to 9.4 of silver. But a remarkable advance must have taken place about this time, as in the second moiety of the seventeenth century, Tavernier* found gold exchanging against fourteen times its weight of silver, from which point it gradually advanced to one to fifteen, a rate it maintained when the East India Company re-modelled the coinage in 1833.†

of the African observer's appreciation of money values in either case. His special patron, Muhammad bin Tughlak, Emperor of Dehli, had, from his first elevation to the throne, evinced a tendency to tamper with the currency, departing very early in his reign from the traditional equality of weights of gold and silver coins; he re-modelled both forms and relative proportions, introducing pieces of 200 grains of gold, styled on their surfaces *dínárs*, and silver coins of 140 grains, designated as *adalis*, in supersession of the ancient equable tankahs, both of gold and silver, extant examples of which in either metal come up to about 174 grains. More important for the present issue is the practical result, that, from the very commencement, Muhammad Tughlak's silver money is invariably of a lower standard than that of his predecessors, whether this refers to the early continuation of the full silver tankah, or to his own newly devised 140 grain piece, a mere reproduction of the time-honoured local weight, which the Aryan races found current in the land some twenty-five centuries before this Moslem revival; but in either case, this payment to Ibn Batutah seems to have been made after the Sultan had organised and abandoned that imaginary phase of perfection in the royal art of depreciating the circulating media, by the entire supercession of the precious metals, and following the ideal of a paper currency, the substitution of a copper simulacrum of each and every piece in the order of its degree from the *Dínár* to the lowest coin in the realm, the values being authoritatively designated on the surface of each. This forced currency held its own, more or less successfully, from 730 to 733, when it came to its simple and self-developed end. Taking the probable date of this payment as 742-3 A. H. (Ibn B. vi., p. 4, and vol. iii., p. xxii.), it may be assumed that the 174 (or 175) grain old gold tankah, which had heretofore stood at the equitable exchange of one to eight tankah's of good silver, came necessarily, in the depreciation of the new silver coins, to be worth ten or more of the later issues. Pathan Sultans, p. 53).

* "All the gold and silver which is brought into the territories of the Great Mogul is refined to the highest perfection before it be coined into money."—Tavernier, London Edition, 1677, p. 2. "The roupie of gold weighs two drams and a half, and eleven grains, and is valued in the country at 14 roupies of silver."—Page 2. "But to return to our roupies of gold, you must take notice that they are not so current among the merchants. For one of them is not worth above fourteen roupies." The traveller then goes on to relate his doleful personal experiences, of how, when he elected to be paid for his goods in gold," the king's uncle" forced him to receive the gold rupee at the rate of fourteen and a half silver rupees, whereby he lost no less than 3428 rupees on the transaction. Sir James Stewart, writing in 1772, also estimates the conventional proportionate value of silver to gold, as fourteen to one—"The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal." Calcutta, 1772.

† Prinsep's Useful Tables, pp. 5, 72, 79.

Afterwards, with prospering times, the metal ran up occasionally to fabulous premiums, to fall again ignominiously when Californian and Australian discoveries made it common in the land.

I revert for the moment to a more formal recapitulation of the computations, which serve to establish the ratios of gold and silver in Akbar's time.

Abúl Fazl's figured returns give the following results :—

First.—Chugal, weight in gold Tolah 3, Másha 0, Rati $5\frac{1}{4}$=30 Rs. of $11\frac{1}{2}$ Máshas each : 549.84: : 172.5×30 (5175.0) : 1 : : 9.4118.

Second.—Áftábí, gold, weight T. 1, M. 2, R. $4\frac{3}{4}$=12 Rs. : 218.90 : : 172.5 × 12 (2070.0) : 1 : : 9.4563.

Third.—Ilahí, or Lál Jalálí, also Muíanni, gold, weight M. 12, R. $1\frac{3}{4}$=10 Rs. : 183·28 : : 172·5 × 10 (1725·0) : 1 : : 9·4118.

3 A.—The larger piece, the Sihansah, in value 100 Lál Jalálís, gives an identical return. Weight in gold, T. 101, M. 9, R. 7 = 1000 Rs. : 18328· : : 172,500 (172·5 × 100 × 10) : 1 : : 9·4118.

Fourth.—Adl.-Guṭkah, or Muhar, also called Mahrábí, gold, weight 11 Máshas=9 Rs. : 165 : : 172·5×9 (1552·5) : 1 : : 9·40909.

4 A.—The higher proportions specified under the piece of 100 round Muhars, produce a similar result. Weight in gold, T. 91, M. 8=900 Rs. : 16500 : : 155250· (172·5 × 100 × 9) : 1 : : 9·40.

These sums are based upon the ordinary Tolah of 180 gr., Másha of 15, and Rati of 1·875 grs. The question of corresponding values in the English scale need not affect the accuracy of comparisons founded upon the conventional measure by which both metals were estimated.

I have given more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums now inserted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9·4, has been called in question by an official of the Calcutta Mint (a Dr. Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventures to affirm, that "9·4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed."* Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all pro-

* Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517.

duce returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep's "Useful Tables" (London, 1858), I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abúl Fazl's figures, from a different point of view, and for altogether independent purposes.* But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate rate as one to 9·4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abúl Fazl's own statement as translated into English in 1783 when, in concluding a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about *one-half a tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees."† It may be as well that I should add, that some of my totals differ from those to be found in Gladwin's translation of the original Persian text.‡ I do not recapitulate the several divergencies, but it is necessary to prove the justice of one, at least, of my emendations. Gladwin's MSS. gave the rupee at 11¼ *máshas*, (i. p. 34). The more carefully collated Dehli texts showed the real weight to be 11·5 *máshas*, a static fact of some importance, which is curiously susceptible of proof from Gladwin's own data: at page 46 of his Calcutta edition, a sum is given of the refining charges and profits, as understood by the mints of those days, wherein 989 tolas, 9 máshas of impure silver is stated to be reduced by 14 T. 9 M. 1 R. in refining, and a further 4 T. 10 M. 3 R. in manipulation, leaving 11641 *máshas* of silver (989. 9. 0. — 14. 9. 1. — 4. 10. 3. = 11641) which is officially announced as ordinarily coined into 1012 rupees, (1012 × 115=11638) giving, as nearly as may be, the essential 11½ máshas, which the translated text *should* have preserved in its earlier passages.

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra in A. D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahángír, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies, "In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten rupias

* U. T., Vol. ii., p. 32. † Gladwin, i. 44. ‡ 4to., Calcutta, 1783.

apiece;" to this passage is added in a marginal note, that, "a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold."* This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar*, (No. 4 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dáms;* by raising the weight of the piece to the higher total given under No. 3, the gold *ilahí* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dáms*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dáms*, in the new currency a value of 40 *dáms* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The subdivisions of the standard silver Tankah, as well as the relative exchange ratios of silver and copper in their subordinate denominations, claim a passing notice. Though Bengal proper probably remained satisfied with its lower currency of cowries, supplemented by the occasional intervention of copper, for some time after the introduction of gold and silver money, yet as the earliest copper coins of that kingdom must have been based upon and, in the first instance, supplied by Dehli mintages, the Imperial practice comes properly within the range of the local division of the general enquiry.

It has been seen that Minháj-ul-Siráj, in comparing the circulating media of Hindustán and Bengal, speaks of the currency of the former as composed of *Chitals*, a name which is seemingly used by himself and succeeding authors in the generic sense for money, as if these pieces continued to constitute the popular standard both in theory and practice, notwithstanding the introduction of the more imposing *tankahs* of gold and silver. Up to this time it has not been possible satisfactorily to demonstrate the actual value of the coin in question; in some cases indirect evidence would seem to bring its intrinsic worth down to a very low point, while at times the money calcula-

* Purchas' Travels, folio, 1625-26, i. 217.

tions for large sums, in which its name alone is used, appear to invest it with a metrical position far beyond the subordinate exchanges of mere bazár traffic.

In the details of the "prices-current" in the reign of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, as well as in the relation of certain monetary re-adjustments made by Fírúz Sháh III., the name of the *Chital* is constantly associated in the definition of comparative values with another subdivision entitled the Káṇi, which may now be pronounced with some certainty to have been the $\frac{1}{64}$ of the original *Tankuh*, of 175 grains, and $\frac{1}{50}$ of the new silver coin of 140 grains, introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. The temporary forced currency of this Sultán necessitated in itself the positive announcement of the names and authoritative equivalents of each representative piece, and this abnormal practice contributes many items towards the elucidation of the quantitative constitution of the real currency of the day, which these copper tokens were designed to replace. In illustration of this point, I insert a woodcut and description of a brass coin, which was put forth to pass for the value of the silver piece of 140 grains, to whose official weight it is seemingly suggestively approximated.

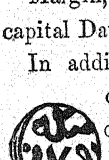


Brass; weight, 132 grs.; A. H. 731; *Common.* *Obverse.*— مهرشد تنکه پنجاه کانی در روزکار بنده امیدوار محمد تغلق Struck (lit. *sealed*), a tankah of fifty káṇis in the reign of the servant, hopeful (of mercy), Muhammad Taghlak.

Reverse.—Area, الرحمن من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع. "He who obeys the king, truly he obeys God."*

Margin, در تخت گاه دولت‌اباد شال برهفصد سي يك. At the capital Daulat-ábád, year? 731.

In addition to this 50 *káṇi*-piece may be quoted extant specimens of this Sultán's forced issues, bearing the definitive names of "*hastkáṇi*" (8 káṇis). "*Shash-káṇi.*" (6 káṇis) and *Do-káṇi* (2 káṇis.) An obverse of the latter is given in the margin. The reverse has the unadorned name of محمد تغلق.



* In other examples of the forced currency, he exhorts his subjects in more urgent terms to submit to the Almighty, as represented in the person of the ruling monarch, and to adopt, in effect, the bad money he covers with texts from the Kurán—the "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you," and "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man," but "some" are placed over "others"—were unheeded on his coinage of pure metal.

Next in order, may be quoted historical evidence of Fírúz Sháh's fiscal re-organizations, in the course of which mention is made of pre-existing pieces of 48, 25, 24, 12, 10, 8, and 6 káṉis, the lowest denomination called by that name; afterwards the narrative goes on to explain that, in addition to the ordinary *Chital* piece already in use, Fírúz Sháh originated, for the benefit of the poorer classes of his subjects, subdivisional $\frac{1}{2}$ Chital and $\frac{1}{4}$ Chital pieces.

As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enables us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *karsha*,* so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *káṉi*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán, during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *káṉi* means $\frac{1}{64}$, or one quarter of a sixteenth" (Brown). In Canarese $\frac{1}{64}$ (Reeve), and in Tamil $\frac{1}{80}$ (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives "*Káṉi*, corruptly, *Cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn. $\frac{1}{80}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{64}$."†

The term *káṉi*, in addition to its preferable meaning of $\frac{1}{64}$, was, as we see, also used for the fraction $\frac{1}{80}$, but its application in the former sense to the ruling integer in the present instance, seems to be conclusively settled by the relative proportions assigned to the modified *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak, when compared with the normal weight of the earlier coin (: 64 : : 175 : 50 : : 136·718).

The method in which the subdivisional currency was arranged, consisted, as has already been stated, of an admixture of the two metals, silver and copper, in intentionally varying proportions in pieces of identical weight, shape and device; so that the traders in each case had to judge by the eye and hand of the intrinsic value of the coin presented to them. To European notions this system would imply endless doubt and uncertainty, but under the practised vision and delicate perceptive powers of touch, with which the natives of India are endowed, but little difficulty seems to have been experienced; and I myself can testify to the accuracy of the verdicts pronounced by the experienced men of Delhi, whose instinctive estimates were tested repeatedly by absolute assay. I published many of these

* Num. Chron. iv. 58; J. A. S. B. xxxiii. 266.

† There is a coin called a "Do-gáni or Doodee," still quoted in the Madras Almanacks.

results, some years ago, in the Numismatic Chronicle,* where the curious in these matters may trace many of the gradational pieces of the *kánis* above enumerated. As some further experiments in reference to the intrinsic values of these coins were made, at my instance, in the Calcutta Mint, I subjoin a table of the authoritative results, which sufficiently confirms the previous less exhaustive assays by the native process.

LIST OF DEHLI COINS,

Composed of Silver and Copper in varying proportions, forwarded for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C. S., 10th June, 1853.

No. of Packet.	A. H.	Reference to Numbers of Coins in "Pathán Sultans."	No. of Coins in Parcel.	Weight in Grains.	Dwts. Fine Silver per lb. in each.
1	716	Mubárak Sháh. No. 66.	1	53.22	5.375
2	726	Muhammad bin Tughlak. No. 91.	1	55.15	13.300
3	895	Sikandar Bahlol. No. 163.	1	143.438	1.900
4	896	" "	4–1	142.163	2.025
"	"	" "	1	142.936	1.925
"	"	" "	1	138.913	1.615
"	"	" "	1	140.088	2.200
5	898	" "	1	141.500	1.5625
6	900	" "	2–1	140.800	2.6000
"	"	" "	1	127.600	3.0125
7	903	" "	1	143.100	4.650
8	904	" "	3–1	142 500	5.624
"	907	" "	3–1	143.250	15.5
"	"	" "	1	141.150	16 0
"	"	" "	1	139.900	16.0
9	905	" "	1	144.500	17.5
10	909	" "	1	141.500	15.0
11	910	" "	1	140 200	15.0
12	912	" "	2–1	142.500	12.0
"	"	" "	1	135.500	15.0
13	913	" "	2–1	132.250	15.0
"	"	" "	1	140.750	15.0
14	914	" "	4–1	140.000	15.0
"	"	" "	1	138.500	15.5
"	"	" "	1	141.000	16.5
"	"	" "	1	140.500	16.0
15	918	" "	4–1	138 250	10.0
"	"	" "	1	133 250	10.0
"	"	" "	1	139.750	9.0
"	"	" "	1	125.000	8.0
16	919	" "	3–1	135.250	32.0
"	"	" "	1	137.250	8 0
"	"	" "	1	137.500	8.0

* Vol. xv. 1852, p. 121, *et seq.*

The Institutes of Manu have preserved a record, reproduced in the subjoined table, of the various weights in use, some centuries before Christ,* and among other things explain, that the values of gold and copper were calculated by a different metric scheme, to that applied to silver. A larger number of Ratis went to the Másha in the former, and the progression of numbers commenced with a five (5×16), while the silver estimates were founded on the simple arithmetic of *fours* (2×16), which constituted so special a characteristic of India's home civilization. Still, the two sets of tables, starting from independent bases, were very early assimilated and adapted to each other in the advancing totals, so that the 320 ratis constituting the *satamána* of the quarternary multiplication, is created in the third line by the use of a *ten*, and the quasi exotic scheme corrects its independent elements by multiplyIng by *four*, and produces a similar total in the contents of the *Pala* or *Nishka*. The second lines of the tables are severally filled in with the aggregate numbers, 32 and 80, and as the duplication of the former, or 64, has been seen to

* Manu. viii. 131.—"Those names of copper, silver, and gold (weights) which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132.—The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasarenu*. 133.—Eight of those *trasarenus* are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed *(liksha)*, three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed *(rajasarshapa)*, and three of these last to a white mustard-seed *(gaura-sarshapa)*. 134.—Six white mustard-seeds ar equal to a middle-sized barley-corn *(yava)*, three such barley-corns to one *krshnala* [raktika], five *krshnalas* of gold are one *másha*, and sixteen such *máshas* one *suvarna*. 135.—Four *suvarnas* make a *pala*, ten *palas* a *dharana*, but two krshnalas weighed together are considered as one silver máshaka. 136.—Sixteen of those máshakas are a silver *dharana* or *purána*, but a copper *kársha* is known to be a *pana* or *karshapana*. 137.—Ten *dharanas* of silver are known by the name of a *satamána*, and the weight of four suvarnas has also the appellation of a *nishka*." These statements may be tabulated thus as the

ANCIENT INDIAN SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS.

SILVER.

2 ratis = 1 másha

32 „ = 16 „ = 1 dharana, or purána.

320 „ = 160 „ = 10 „ 1 satamána.

GOLD.

5 ratis = 1 másha.

80 „ = 16 „ = 1 suvarna.

320 „ = 64 „ = 4 „ = 1 pala, or nishka.

3200 „ = 640 „ = 40 „ = 10 „ = 1 dharana

COPPER.

80 ratis = 1 kárshápana.

do duty in the case, the probability of the use of the 160 naturally suggests itself in connexion with the theoretical organization of the copper coinage.

In proceeding to test the relations of the minor and subordinate currencies, the cardinal point to be determined is, the exchangeable value of copper as against silver. It has been affirmed by Colebrooke,* that the ratio stood in Manu's time at 64 to 1: accepting the correctness of this estimate, which has, I believe, remained unchallenged, and supposing the rate to have remained practically but little affected up to the Muhammadan conquest, the 175 grains of *silver* of Altamsh's new coinage would be equivalent in metallic value to 11,200 grains of *copper*. The ancient copper *kárshápana* is recognised and defined as 80 ratis in weight, so that under the above conditions, and calculating the rati at 1.75 grains, each kárshápana was equal to 140 grains, and eighty of these, under the same calculations, give a return of 11,200 grains. Without at present advancing any more definite proposition, or quoting dubious coincidences, it may be as well to test these preliminary results by the Numismatic data Fírúz Shah's Mints have left as an heritage behind him. Among the incidents quoted regarding that monarch's monetary innovations he is stated to have introduced, for the first time, *half* and *quarter* Chitals. On the occasion of a very elaborate revision of my monograph on the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, while residing under the very shadow of so many of their memorial edifices, I acquired and described, among others, two specimens of the money of this king, which seemed to be closely identifiable with his Utopian productions of new and infinitesimal subdivisions of the leading copper coinage, in his expressed desire of securing for the poorest of the poor, the fractional change they might be entitled to in the most limited purchases.† These coins responded singularly in their mutual proportions, and contributed in the form of once current money, definitive weights in copper amounting severally to 34.5 and 17.8 grains, from which a very low estimate was deduced of 34.8 and 17.4, as a normal official standard.

* As. Res. v. 95.

† Shams-i-Siráj, in his work entitled the Tárikh-i-Fírúz Sháhi, gives the following incidents regarding Fírúz Sháh's coinages :—

شرح بیان احوال سکهٔ مهر شش گانی نکلست سلطان فیروزشاه در

If the 34.8 grain of the first of these be multiplied by 160, it will give a return of 5568.0 grains, and accepting this trial piece, conditionally, as Fìrúz's novel *half-Chital*,* it will be seen to furnish a general total of 11136 grains for the copper equivalent of the 175 grains of silver contained in the old Tankah, and confirms the range of the Chital at 69.6 grains, or only .4 short of the full contents tradition would assign it, as the unchanged *half kárshápaṇa* of primitive



½ Chital of Fíruz.

طور عظمت و دور مکنت خویش چون سلاطین اهل گیتي سکهاء
چندین نوع پدید اورد چنانچه زر تنکه ونقره وسکه چهل و هشت
گانے ومهر بیست و پنجگانے و بیست وچهار گانے و دوازدهگانے ودهٔ گانے و
هشتگانے و ششگانے ومهر یك جیتل چون فیروزشاه چندین اجناس
بي‌قیاس مهر وضع کردانید بعدهٔ در دل مبارک بالهام حضرت حق
تبارک تعالي گذرانید اگر بیچارهٔ فقیران از اهل بازار چیزی
خرید کنند و از جملهٔ مال نیم جیتل ویا دانکي باقي ماند آن
دوکاندار دانکه خود ندارد اگراین راهگذاري ان باقي بر او بگذارد
ضایع رود اگر ازان دوکاندار طلب کند چون این مهر نیست از
کجا چه دهد باقي او دهد برین وجوه میان بایع و مشتري مقالت
این حالت بتطویل کشید سلطان فیروزشاه فرمان فرمود که مهر
نیم جیتل که انرا ادهٔ گویند ومهر دانك جیتل که انرا پنکه گویند
وضع کنند تاغرض فقرا ومساکین حاصل شود

The original and unique MS., from which the above passage is extracted, is in the possession of the Nawáb Zíá-ud-dín of Lohárú, in the Dehli territory.

* I once supposed these two coins to be whole and half Chitals, instead of the half and quarter pieces now adopted.

† It may be as well to state distinctly that the most complete affirmation of the numismatic existence of a *Chital* of a given weight and value, supported even by all anterior written testimony, in no wise detracts from the subsequent and independent use of the name for the purposes of account, a confusion which perchance may have arisen from the traditional permanency of the term itself, which in either case might eventually have been used to represent higher or lower values than that which originally belonged to it. Ziá-i-Barni at one moment seems to employ the term as a fractional fiftieth of the *Tankah*, while in other parts of the same or similar documents he quotes a total of "sixty Chitals," and in his statement of progressive advances of price, mentions the rise from twenty Chitals to *half a Tankah*. Ferishtah following, with but vague knowledge, declares that fifty Chitals constituted the *Tankah*; while Abúl Fazl, who had real information on these matters as understood in his own day, asserts that the *dám* was divided "in account" into twenty-five Chitals. (See Suppt. Páthan Sultáns, p. 31; N. C. xv. 156; Ferishtah, p. 299; Gladwin A. A., I., p. 36.) Then again there seems to have been some direct association between *Chitals* and *Kánis*, as General Cunningham has published a coin which he as yet has only partially deciphered, bearing the word جتله on the one side, and ڪاني [يكاني] on the other. J. A. S. B., 1862, p. 425.

ages.† To pass to the opposite extreme for a test of the copper exchange rate, it is found that when Shír Sháh reorganised the northern coinage of Hindustán, by the lights of his southern experience, and swept away all dubious combinations of metals, reducing the copper standard to its severe chemical element; his Mint statistics show that the 178 grains of silver, constituting his revised Tankah, exchanged against 40 *dâms*, or double chitals of copper, of an ascertained quadrupled weight of 323.5 grains each, producing in all a total of 12,940 grains of the latter metal, as the equivalent of 178 grains of silver, or in the ratio of 72.69 to 1; though, even in the altered weights and modified proportions, still retaining inherent traces of the old scheme of *fours*, in the half *dám* of 80, and the quarter *dám* of 160 to the new "Rupee."

It remains to discover upon what principles the new silver coinage of Altamsh was based. That copper was the ruling standard by which the relative values of the more precious metals were determined, there can scarcely be a doubt. The estimate by Paṇas of the ancient Lawgiver, the constant reckoning by Chitals of the early Muhammadan intruders, down to the revenue assessments of Akbar, all of which were calculated in copper coin, sufficiently establish the permanency of the local custom, and the intrinsic contents of Altamsh's *Sikkah* or الفضة of 174 or 175 grains, must primarily have been regulated by the silver equivalent of a given number of Chitals. Had the old silver *Puráṇa* been still in vogue, the new coin might have been supposed to have been based upon their weights and values; three of which Puráṇas would have answered to an approximate total of 96 ratis; but although the weight of the old coin had been preserved in the more modern *Dehli-wálas*, the metallic value of the current pieces had been so reduced, that from 16 to 24 would probably have been required to meet the exchange against the original silver *Tankah;* on the other hand, although the number of 96 ratis does not occur in the ancient tables, the combination of the inconvenient number of *three* Puráṇas into one piece, is by no means opposed to Vedic ideas; and there can be no question but that the traditional 96 ratis, of whatever origination, is constant in the modern *tolah;* but, as I have said before, the question whether the new coin was designed to constitute an even *one hundred* rati-piece, which, in process of time, by wear or inten-

tional lowering of standard weights, came to settle down to the 96 rati *tolah*, remains to be proved by the determination of the decimals in troy-grains, which ought to be assigned to the normal *rati*.

I now proceed to notice the historical bearings of the coins of the Bengal series.

Any general revision of a special subject, coincident with the discovery of an unusually large amount of new illustrative materials, owes a first tribute to previous commentators—whose range of identification may chance to have been circumscribed by more limited archæological data, the application of which may equally have been narrowed by the inaccessibility of written history, heretofore confined, as in the present instance, to original Oriental MSS., or the partial transcripts and translations incidentally made known to the European world. At the head of the list of modern contributors must be placed, in point of time, M. Reinaud, who, so long ago as 1823, deciphered and described several types of the Bengal Mintages, commencing with those of Ilías Sháh (No. viii. of this series).* Closely following appeared Marsden's elaborate work, which, among other novelties, displayed a well-sustained sequence of Bengal coins, with corresponding engrâvings, *still unequalled*, though in point of antiquity producing nothing earlier than the issues of the same Ilías Sháh, who had inaugurated the newly-asserted independence of the southern monarchy, with such a wealth of coinages.† Next in order must be cited a paper, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Mr. Laidlay, which added materially to the numismatic records of the local sovereigns, though still remaining deficient in the development of memorials of the more purely introductory history of the kingdom.‡ I myself, in the course of the publication of the Imperial Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli,§ had occasion to notice two pieces of Bahádur Sháh, one of which proved of considerable interest, and likewise coins of both Shams-ud-dín Fíráz, and Mubárak Sháh, whose defective marginal legends, however, defeated any conclusive assignment to their original producers.

* Journal Asiatique, Paris, vol. iii., p. 272.

† Numismata Orientalia, London, 1825, pp. 561-585.

‡ Vol. xv. (1846), p. 323.

§ Wertheimer, London, 1847, pp. 37, 42, 82, and Supplement printed at Delhi in 1851, p. 15. See also Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ix., pp. 176, 181; vol. x., p. 153; and vol. xv. p. 124.

The chronicles of a subordinate and, in those days, but little accessible country were too often neglected by the national historians at the Court of Dehli, even if their means of information as to the course of local events had not necessarily been more or less imperfect. Two striking exceptions to the ordinary rule fortuitously occur, at conjunctions specially bearing upon the present enquiry, in the narratives of Minháj-ul-Siráj, Juzjáni, and the "Travels of Ibn Batutah," the former of whom accompanied Tughán Khán to Lakhnauti, in A. H. 640,* where he resided for about two years. The Arab from Tangiers,† on his way round to China, as ambassador on the part of Muhammad bin Tughlak, found himself in Eastern Bengal at the inconvenient moment when Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak was in a state of undisguised revolt against the emperor, to whom they jointly owed allegiance; but this did not interfere with his practical spirit of enquiry, or his placing on record a most graphic description of the existing civilization and politics of the kingdom, and further compiling a singularly fresh and independent account (derived clearly from *vivâ voce* statements) of the immediately preceding dynastic changes to which the province had been subjected. So that, in effect, Ibn Batutah, with his merely incidental observations, has done more for the elucidation of the obscurities of the indigenous

* The Tabakát-i-Násiri of Abú Umar Minháj-ud-dín bin Siráj-ud-dín, *Juzjáni*, has been printed and published in the Persian series of the Bibliotheca Indica, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1864, pp. 453.) The chapters on Indian and Central Asian affairs, with which the author was more or less personally conversant, have alone been reproduced. The usual Oriental commencement with the history of the world, the rise of Muhammadanism, etc., being mere compilations from secondary sources, have been very properly excluded from this edition. A full notice of the original work will be found in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the R. A. S., p. 17 (London, 1854). Several other works of native historians, bearing upon the subject of this paper, have also been made accessible to the public in a printed form in the same collection, among which may be noted the Táríkh-i-Fírúz Sháhí (the third king of the name in the Dehli list), by Ziá-i-Barni (Calcutta, 1862, pp. 602), and the Muntakhab-ul-Tawáríkh of Abd ul Kádir, *Budáúni* (Calcutta, 1865, pp. 407). The editors have unadvisedly, I think, omitted the early portions of the original relating to India, and commence the publication with the accession of Akbar. An outline of the entire contents of the work will be found in Sir H. Elliot's Historians of India (Calcutta, 1849, p. 305).

† An English version of Ibn Batutah's Travels (taken from an abridged text), by Dr. S. Lee, was published in the series of the Oriental Translation Fund in 1829 (1 vol., 4to, London). A new and very complete edition of his entire Arabic Text, with a French Translation, chiefly the work of the late M. C. Defrémery, has been issued within the last few years by the Société Asiatique of Paris (4 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1853-1858).

history of the period represented by the earlier coins of the Kooch Bahár hoard, than all the native authors combined, to whose writings we at present have access.

The merits of these authors may or may not appear upon the surface in the subsequent pages, as it is only in doubtful or difficult cases that their aid may chance to be invoked, but for the obscure series of the first Governors of Bengal, the one stands alone; and for the space of time intervening between the provincial obscuration of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the unambitious son of Balban, to the revival of public interest in Bengal, consequent upon the subjection and capture of a rebel Vassal by Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, the chance traveller describes more effectively the political mutations and varying monarchical successions than the professed historiographers treating exclusively of the annals of their own land.

The following list of Local Governors has been compiled, the early portion from the precise statements of Minháj-ul-Siráj, the latter part from the casual notices of Bengal, to be found in Ziá-i-Barni, who professed to continue the history of India from the latest date reached by the former author, or from A.H. 658 to 753, being a period of 95 years, covering the reigns of eleven kings. The last-named work was finally completed in A.H. 758.

The arrangement of the names and dates of accession of the chiefs will be found to depart occasionally from the details given by Stewart,* in his excellent History of Bengal, but I have designedly sought to draw my materials independently from the original authorities, whom he was perhaps in a less favourable position for consulting than the student of the present day.

* The History of Bengal, by Charles Stewart. London, 1813. 4to.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

ACCESSION. A.H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
600	1. محمد بختيار خلجي	First Muhammadan conqueror of Bengal, under Kutb-ud-dín of Dehli.
602	2. عزالدين محمد شيران خلجي	Succeeds to the local government after the death of Muhammad Bakhtiár.
605	3. علاء الدين علي مردان خلجي	Nominated to the government by Kutb-ud-dín, on whose decease in A.H. 607, he assumes independence.*
608	4. حسام الدين عوض خلجي (سلطان غياث الدين)	Commandant at Deokót, establishes his power and assumes royal honors. He submits to Altamsh in A.H. 622, but almost immediately commences an active revolt, which is put an end to in his capture by Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in A.H. 624.
624	5. ناصر الدين محمود بن سلطان التمش	Násir-ud-dín had been appointed by his father Governor of Oudh, in A.H. 623, from whence he advanced against Hisám ud-dín in 624, and recovered the kingdom of Bengal, where he remained as subking till his death early in 626
627	6. علاء الدين جاني	After temporary disturbances in the province, Altamsh, having restored order in A.H. 627, designated Alá-ud dín Jání to the charge of Bengal.
	7. سيف الدين ايبك يغان تت	Nominated to Bengal on the dismissal of Alá-ud-dín Jání (date not given). Dies in 631 A.H.

* Minháj-ul-Siráj, who treats of the history of his own and immediately preceding times, introduces the reigns of the more powerful sovereigns with a full list of the Court notabilities, forming a sort of *Almanach de Gotha* of Muhammadan India. These lists embrace the various branches of the Royal Family, Ministers, Judges, and Governors of Provinces. The following names of the ضابط's or military administrators of Bengal, which appear in the official returns, may serve to check or confirm the imperfect data obtained from the casual notices of local history to be met with in the general narrative of the events of the Empire at large. There is this discrimination, however, to be made that these imperial nominations were often merely titular, while the effective executive was in other and independent hands:

Under Altamsh, A.H. 607-633.

ملك لكهنوتي ملك اختيار الدين محمد برادر زادة

Under Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, A.H. 644-664.

الملك الكبير عز الدين طغرل طغانخان ملك لكهنوتي

الملك الكبير تمورخان قيران ملك اودة و لكهنوتي

الملك الكبير جلال الدين خلج خان ملك جاني ملك لكهنوتي وكرة

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—*continued.*

ACCESSION A. H.	NAMES OF GOVERNORS.	REMARKS.
631	8. عزالدين طغرل طغان خان	Pledges his allegiance to Rizíyh on her elevation in A. H. 634; continues in the Government till 642 A. H., when he surrenders the kingdom to No. 9. (Minháj-ul-Siráj, the historian, was at his court at this latter period.
642	9. قمرالدين تمر خان قيران	Obtains possession of Lakhnauti on the 5th Zul Káad, A. H. 642—dies in 644.
	10. اختيار الدين يوزبك طغرل خان	Dates uncertain. First appointed during the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd of Dehlí. He seems to have been a powerful ruler and a daring commander, and finally met his death in his retreat from an over-venturesome expedition into Kámrúp. He had previously assumed independence under the title of سلطان مغيث الدين.
656	11. جالل الدين مسعود ملك جاني	Appointed in A. H. 656. (قتلغ خان subsequently in temporary possession).
657	12. عزالدين بلبن اوزبكي	Recognised, on receipt of his tributary presents at head-quarters, in the early part of A. H. 657.
657	13. تاج الدين ارسلان خان سنجر خوارزمي	Obtains a momentary advantage over No. 12 in his absence from his Capital; eventually taken prisoner and superseded by No. 12.
659	14. (محمد ارسلان خان) تتر خان	Son of No. 12.* On the accession of Balban in A. H. 664, he forwards elephants and tribute to Dehli.
676?	15. مغيث الدين طغرل	Appointed by Balban.† He afterwards asserts his independence, and assumes the title of سلطان مغيث الدين. Balban sends armies against him without success, and at last proceeds in person to Bengal. Finally, Toghral is surprised and killed.
681	16. تترا خان ناصرالدين محمود	Second son of Balban, installed with royal honors.

* Zíá-i-Barni in one place, page 53, calls him وتقرخان پسر ارسلان خان and again, at page 66. محمد ارسلان خان كه اورا تتر خان گفتندي

† Zíá-i-Barni, pp. 82-92.

As I have such frequent occasion to quote the names of the Kings of the Imperial Dynasty of Dehli, I annex for facility of reference a full list of these Sovereigns.

LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.

(DEHLI).

DATE OF ACCESSION. A.H.	NO.	NAMES OF SULTANS.
589	1	Muiz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (1st Dynasty.)
602	2	Kutb-ud-dín Aibek.
607	3	Arám Sháh.
607	4	Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.
633	5	Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh I.
634	6	Sultán Riziah.
637	7	Muiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.
639	8	Alá-ud-dín Masaúd Sháh.
644	9	Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd.
664	10	Ghiás-ud-dín Balban.
685	11	Muiz-ud-dín Kaikubád.
688	12	Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh II., *Khiljí* (2nd Dynasty).
695	13	Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím.
695	14	Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh.
715	15	Shaháb-ud-dín Umar.
716	16	Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh I.
720	17	Násir-ud-dín Khusrú.
720	18	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh (3rd Dynasty).
725	19	Muhammad bin Tughlak.
752	20	Fírúz Sháh III., *bin Salar Rajab.*
790	21	Tughlak Sháh II.
791	22	Abúbakr Sháh.
793	23	Muhammad Sháh bin Fírúz Sháh.
795	24	Sikandar Sháh.
795	25	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh (Timúr, 800).
797	26	Nusrat Sháh, *Interregnum*, Mahmúd restored, 802.
815	27	Daulat Khán Lodí.
817	28	Khizr Khán *Syud* (4th Dynasty).
824	29	Muiz-ud-dín-Mubárak Sháh II.
839	30	Muhammad Sháh bin Farid Sháh.
849	31	'Aálam Sháh.
854	32	Bahlól Lódí (5th Dynasty).
894	33	Sikandar bin Bahlól.
923	34	Ibráhím bin Sikandar (Bábar, 930 A.H.)
937	35	Muhammad Humáyún, *Moghul.*
946	36	Farid-ud-din Shír Sháh, *Afghán.*
952	37	Islám Sháh.
960	38	Muhammad 'Aádil Sháh.
961	39	Ibráhím Súr.
962	40	Sikandar Sháh (Humáyún, 962 A.H.)

The unenlivened Chronicles of the Local Governors of Bengal enter upon a more interesting phase, in the nomination of Násir-ud-dín

Mahmúd, the son of the Emperor Balban, who subsequently came to prefer the easy dignity of Viceroy, in the more even climate of the south, in derogation of his birth-right's higher honours, and the attendant dangers of Imperialism at Dehli. One of the most touching chapters of Indian history is contributed by the incidents of this monarch's meeting with his own arrogant son, Muiz-ud-dín Kaikubád, who had succeeded to the superior dignities abjured by the father.* They then met as nominal Vassal and Suzerain, but little unequal in power, and each occupying independent and preparedly hostile camps, on the ordinary route between their respective capitals. Oriental etiquette, and more reasonable distrust, for a time delayed the interview, in which, at last, nature was destined to re-assert its laws, and to reconcile even conflicting royal interests, by subduing, for the moment, the coarse vices of the son in the presence of the tempered virtues of the father. Repeated amicable conferences, however, merely resulted in each returning on his way, with but little change in the relative political position of either; and the comparatively obscure repose of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd remained undisturbed, while other successors filled his son's throne at Dehli. The more immediate question bearing upon the attribution of the earliest coins in the Kooch Bahár treasure, is exactly how long did Násir-ud-dín continue to live and reign. Zíá-i-Barni,† and those who follow his ill-digested history, affirm that he retained his provincial kingship till 699 A.H., when he divested himself of all symbols of royalty in the mere dread of the confessedly overwhelming power of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, to be, however, reinstated by that Sultán; and, finally, it is asserted that Násir-ud-dín was still in existence, and once again reinvested with the full insignia of a king, by Tughlak Sháh, in A.H. 724.

Ibn Batutah, a higher authority in proximity of time, and obviously more intimate with the purely indigenous history, states that Násir-ud-dín, on his ruturn from his interview with his son, reigned some years (سنين) ,‡ an expression which is scarcely compatible with

* Zíá-i-Barni, p. 142; Ibn Batutah, iii., p. 178; Lee's Translation, p. 117; and قران السعدين of Amír Khusrú, *Dehlivi.*

† Printed edition, p. 451; Budauni MS.; Ferishtah (Briggs, i. p. 406).

‡ French edition, iii., p. 179, and xiii. Dr. Lee's سنتين "two years," p. 118, is an error.

the idea of a nearly continuous rule of "forty-three solar years," and a decease in A.H. 725, as adopted by Stewart:* a prolongation of administrative functions indeed altogether inconsistent with the direct evidence of the dates on the money of Kai Káús, or the parallel proof of Shams-ud-dín's exercise of the functions of sovereignty in 702 A.H., associated as they are with the uncontested historical and numismatic demonstration of the succession of one grandson, Shaháb-ud-dín, whose ejection from his inherited section of the kingdom by his more powerful brother, Bahádur, formed so prominent a ground for imperial interference in the affairs of Bengal. There facts are each and all too well ascertained to leave any doubt that the authors who make Násir-ud-dín's reign extend to 725 must be in error; the source of the mistake seems as simple as it is obvious, the mere omission of the son's name as preceding that of the father, in Persian MS. writing, or simple ignorance of the order of local successions, would account for the whole difficulty. And, as is obvious, Ibn Batutah's own personal knowledge, and possibly correct autograph version, reproduced independently in other lands, have not saved later transcripts of his work from analogous imperfections.†

But there are other and more direct internal evidences in the texts of the Indian authors, of confusion and imperfect knowledge in the relation of the incidents attendant upon the re-settlement of Bengal by Alá-ud-dín A.H. 699, where it is stated that "a chief, named Bahádur Khán," was at this time appointed to "the eastern districts of Bengal,"‡ with the object of dividing the province, and thus rendering its rulers "more subservient to the Court of Dehli." It is highly improbable, had Násir-ud-dín been living at the epoch in question, that a grandson of his should have been selected for such a charge to the supercession of his own father, Shams-ud-dín, or in priority to the son of that father, Shaháb-ud-dín, who was the elder or perhaps better-born brother of Bahádur, each of whom, Ibn Batutah

* Stewart's Bengal, p. 80.

† Ex. gr., Bahádur is made the *son* of Násir-ud-dín, at p. 179, vol. iii., instead of the grandson, which the text at p. 210, vol. iii., and p. 213, vol. iv., affirms him to have been. Lee's MS. authorities again, in omitting the intermediate name of Násir-ud-dín, skip a generation, and ante-date Shams-ud-dín (Fírúz) in constituting him a son of Ghiás-ud-dín Balban (p. 128).

‡ Ferishtah, Briggs, i., p. 406; Stewart, p. 79.

certifies, in turn succeeded to royal honours in the old capital of Bengal.

Having completed this simple outline of the historical data, I now proceed to describe the coins in their due order; first on the list in priority of time is a piece which I can only doubtfully assign to Bengal, and whose individual appropriation, moreover, must remain to a certain extent inconclusive. The coin itself will be seen to bear the hereditary name of the first Moslem Conqueror of India, *Mahmúd* of Ghazní, and the oft-revived title of the founder of the dynasty, *Násir-ud-dín* Subuktagín, a conjunction of royal designation already seen to have been applied to a succession of Pathán princes, whose intitulation followed antecedent conventionalisms.

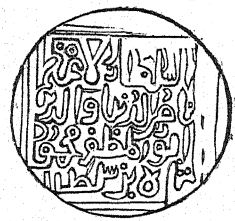
Násir-ud-dín. Mahmúd Sháh.

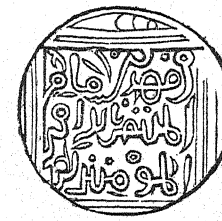
No. 1.

Silver. Size, viii. Weight, 163.1 grs. Unique, *British Museum.*

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
ناصر الدنيا والدين	المستنصر بالله امير
ابو المظفر محمود	المومنين لله
شاه بن سلطان	

Margin, illegible.





The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the like name and title on the decease of his brother, in 626 A.H.* The

* سلطان اسلام ناصر الدين محمود چنانچه وارث اسم ولقب او است Tabakát Násirí, p. 181; بلقب ونام پسر مهتر مخصوص گردانيده p. 201.

citation of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mostansir billah," on the reverse, limits the final period of the issue of the coin, not exactly to the 5th month of the year A.H. 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear precision to A.H. 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the Mintages of the capital of Hindustán.*

This younger son was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in 644 A.H., after the intervening reigns of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, Rizíah, Muiz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, and Alá-ud-dín Masaúd Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years, posterior to the death of Altamsh. The second Mahmúd, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and though, at this conjuncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, not in any position to exercise authority in his own person, and less likely to have had medallic tribute paid to him by his father, should such have been the origin of the exceptional specimen under review. To the first-born Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, no such objections apply; he was very early invested by his sire with the administration of the important government of Hánsi, and in 623 A.H., advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* frontier, he was called upon to proceed against Hisám-ud-dín Avaz, (No. 4 in the list of Governors, *supra*), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here, his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually, successful, so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella, and its attendant dignities,† whatever the exact measure of these may have been. Under such triumphant coincidences, it is possible that the universal favourite, the still loyal heir-apparent, may have placed his own name on the coinage, without designed offence, especially as at this time Moslem Mints were only beginning to adapt themselves to their early naturalization on Indian soil, and when the conqueror's camps carried with them the simple machinery, and equally ready adepts, for converting bullion plunder on the instant into the official money of a general, or his liege sovereign. Altamsh's

* Pathán Sultáns of Dehli, coin No. 33, p. 22.

† His title is usually limited by Minháj-ul-Siráj to ملك pp. 177, 181, 201; but on one occasion سلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated, p. 178.

own circulating media were only in process of crude development at this period, and had scarcely risen superior to the purely Hindu currencies it had served the purpose of his predecessors to leave virtually intact: his own strange *Túrkí* name,* and that of many of his successors, continued to figure in the *Nágarí* letters of the subject races on the surfaces of the mixed silver and copper coins of indigenous origin, at times commemorative of imperfectly achieved conquests, and the limited ascendancy implied in the retention of the joint names of the conqueror and the momentarily subject monarch;† while the Sultán's own trial-pieces, in silver, were indeterminate in their design and legends, as well as utterly barbarous in their graphic execution.

Had the coin under review followed the usual phraseology and palæography of the Imperial Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd's Mint legends, it might have been imagined that an ancient and obsolete reverse had been, by hazard, associated with a new obverse. But the obverse inscription in the present instance differs from the latter Dehli nomenclature in the addition of the word *Sháh* after the name of *Mahmúd*,‡ and contrasts as singularly in the forms of the letters, and the

* This name I have, as a general rule, retained in the form accepted as the conventional English orthography—*Altamsh*. The correct rendering of the original is still an open question, but the more trustworthy authors reproduce the designation as التتمش, a transcription supported in a measure by the repetition of the third letter in the Kufic dies, and made authoritative, in as far as local pronunciation is concerned, by the Hindí correlative version of ल्तितिमिसि (Pathán Sultáns, Coin No. 14). The inscription on the Kutb Minár, at Dehli, has ايلتمش, which accords with the Arabic numismatic rendering on the reverses of the Hindí Coins now cited.

See also Táj-ul-Maásir, *Alitimish*: Wasáf, *Alitmish*, and at times التمش Badauni, *Ailtitimish*.

Elliot's Historians of India, p. 111.

† See coins of *Chahir deva*.

Obverse. Bull. Legend: असावरी श्री समसेरखदिवि।

Reverse. Horseman. Legend: श्री चाहड देव।

—Pathán Sultáns, No. 15; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xix. 16. 31, 34; Prinsep's Essays, i. 333, pl. xxvi. 31; Minhaj-ul-Siráj, pp. 215, 240; Tod's Rajasthan, ii. 451; and J. A. S. Bengal, 1865, p. 126.

‡ So, in written history, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين محمود بن السطان (pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc) which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Fírúz Sháh, Bahrám Sháh, Masáúd Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh'a Court (p. 178), where the text gives—1. Sultán Násir-ud-dín * * 2. Sultán Násir-ud-din Mahmúd; and at the end, after the name of Rukn-ud-din Fírúz Sháh, comes "Násir-ud-din Mahmúd *Sháh*."

insertion of the short vowels with the more deferred issues, as it, on the other hand, closely identifies itself in these marked peculiarities with the initial dies of Altamsh and the closely sequent coinages of Rizíah, two of which latter are now known to be the produce of the Lakhnauti Mint.

RIZIAH.

The earliest coins that can be definitely attributed to a Bengal mint, are those of the celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Rizíah, the daughter of Altamsh. The ministers at her father's court were scandalized at the preference it was proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his selection, alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under the unusual advantages of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Moslem households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the leading and independently-domiciled wife. After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, extending over less than seven months—who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach—Rizíah succeeded in establishing her supremacy in the city of Dehli (A. H. 734), and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Queen—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám, under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizíah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the organised military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to use the expression of Minháj-ul-Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizíah's sway was acknowledged from "Daibal to Lakhnautí." In A.H. 737, the Empress proceeded in person to quell an outbreak on the part of Ikhtiár-ud-dín Altúníah, Governor of Tiberhind; but was taken captive in the engagement that ensued, and, possibly with scant ceremony, introduced into the harem of the conqueror, who shortly afterwards advanced upon Dehli in the hope of recovering the sovereignty, to which he had thus acquired an adventitious claim; but

BENGAL COINS

PL.I.



W. West, del.

his army was in turn defeated, and himself and Rizíah met their deaths near Kaithal in the month of Rabi-al-Awal, A.H. 738. *

The contemporary biographer in his official lists styles this queen السلطان رضية الدين, a title which she affects on the ordinary copper coins,† but on the silver money she adopts the designation of جلالة الدين

Jalálat-ud-din. Rizíah.

Coin No. 2.

Laknautí, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Plate I., figure 1.

Type, *Obverse*, the whole surface is occupied by the legend.

Reverse, circuler area, enclosing a double-lined square. Narrow margin.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	في عهد الامام
جلالة الدنيا والدين	المستنصر امير
ملكة ابنت الشمش السلطان	المومنين .
مهرة امير المومنين	

Reverse Margin, * * هذا الفضة بلكنوتي سنة * *

(See also a similar coin from the Laknautí Mint, Plate i., fig. 27, page 19. Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán.‡

* Tabakát Násiri, pp. 183, 185, 251. See also Ibn Batutah, iii. pp. 167, 168.

† Pathán Sultáns, Nos. 28, 29.

‡ It would seem from the orthography adopted in this earliest record of the name of *Laknauti* (لكنوتي) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lakshmaṇavatí* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Luchhman* (لچهمن) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لكهنوتي; in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coin No. 3, etc.). Minháj-ul-Siráj relates its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtíár in the following terms:

چون محمد بختیار آن مملکت‌را ضابط کرد شهر نودیه‌را خراب بگذاشت و بر موضعي که لکهنوتی است دارالملک ساخت

Printed edit. p. 151. The same author, at p. 162, gives a full account of the remarkable size, progress, and general topography of the city as existing in 641 A.H. on the occasion of his own visit.

It is difficult to say when the name of the city was changed to *Gaur*, a denomination which is never made use of by the older authorities. Abul Fazl says,

I.—RUKN-UD-DIN KAI KÁU'S.

The full and satisfactory identification of the king who ruled under the designation of Káús has yet to be accomplished. Rájendralála Mitra has suggested a notion that Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, so often mentioned in this article, sought, as local ruler of Bengal, "to continue his allegiance to his grandson Kaimurs [momentarily king of Dehli], even after his deposition, and possibly after his death,"* by retaining his name on the public money. I should be disposed to seek a less complicated explanation of the numismatic evidences. Kai Káús' date, tested by the examples of his mintages in the Kooch Bahár hoard, is limited, in range of time, to five years (691–695 A.H.);† a latitude might be taken beyond the ascertained units, which are somewhat indeterminate in their tracings, and have equally suffered from abrasion, on the exposed margins of the coins, but the *ninety* and the *six hundred* can scarcely be contested. If we examine the political state of India at this period, we find that Hindustán was abnormally quiet under the feeble rule of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz (687–696 A.H.): Alá-ud-dín's conquests in the Dakhin could have but little affected Bengal, so that any changes that may have taken place in the latter kingdom were probably due to successional or revolutionary causes arising within its own limits. We can scarcely build up a theory of an access of vigour and assumption of

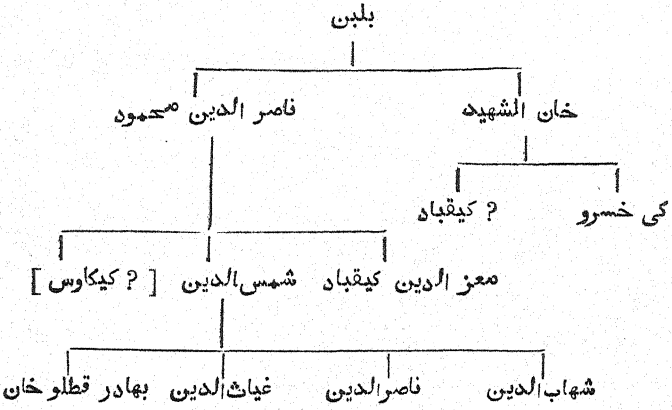
"Formerly it was called Lucknouty, and sometimes Gour" (A.A. ii. p. 11); while Budáuni gives a ridiculous version of the origin of the designation as being derived from غوري. He writes و محمد بختيار معابد و بتخا نهاي كفاررا ويران ساخته مساجد و خوانق و مدارس كرد و دارالملك بنام خويش تعمير فرمود كه كور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars its reception, as does the caustic alternative of گور="grave," which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as গৌড় was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *sub voce;* Albírúní, quoted J. R. A. S. i., N. S., p. 471), and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmans, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called *Gaur* in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.

* Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1864, p 508.

† Rájendra Lála says, "the units *one* and *three* are perfectly clear." Col. Guthrie's three coins are imperfect in the word for the unit. I observe traces of a *four* on two specimens; and I read, with some certainty, 695 on another.

independence by Násir-ud-dín himself; nor is it probable that, in such a case, he would have changed both his title and his name. Besides, the array of title on the coins in the triple succession of *Sultáns* is altogether inconsistent with his actual origin. Though he was the son of one emperor of Dehli, and the father of another, he could scarcely ignore the rise of the former from a state of slavery, or conceal the fact that Balban himself never pretended to have been the offspring of a king. The two alternatives remain, of either supposing that Násir-ud-dín died before 691 A.H., a question discussed elsewhere, or to conclude that his son Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús temporarily assumed kingship during the lifetime of his father,* and that his limited reign and local obscurity saved his memory from the comments of history. I fully endorse Rajendra Lál's suggestion that Kai Káús would have been likely to be selected as a name for one of a family who took so many of their designations from Persian heroic ages, and the elaborate intitulation adopted by that prince, on his coins, of the "son and grandson of a Sultán," favours such an identification.† It will be seen that, although the opening terms of his obverse legends follow the conventional and unvarying mint phraseo-

* The following is the genealogical tree, according to Ibn Batutah. See vol. iii., pp. 174-5, 179, 210, 462; vol. iv., p. 212.



† The name of the son of Kai Kobád, who was elevated to the throne of Dehli on the death of his father, is variously given by Oriental writers as Shams-ud-dín كيومرث and كيكاوس. Budáuní and the Mirát-ul-Alm (MS.) give *Kai Kaus*, but the majority of authors prefer the *Kaiomurs*. Zíá-i-Barni does not state the name of the boy, but mentions a son of Altamsh, in the previous generation, as having been called *Kaiomurs* (printed ed. p. 126).

logy in the use of السلطان, *the* (reigning) Sultán, yet after his own proper name he styles himself merely سلطان, and seemingly desired to strengthen his position by the insertion of the regal titles of his father and grandfather; though there is so far room for questioning this supposition in the fact that the father had fallen short of supreme power, and was only doubtfully authorized to call himself Sultán, while in strictness the Imperial *Balban* should have been designated *the Sultán* (past *regnant*); but on the other hand, Násir-ud-dín had been so long virtually a king in the south, that the complimentary use of the term was quite within heraldic licence; and it is to be remarked, that a similar omission of the supreme prefix occurs in *Nasir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh's* coin (No. 1), which, if correctly attributed, would prove the legitimacy* of the optional use of one or the other form.

These are avowedly mere speculations; but when it is considered how much attention was paid in India, in those days, to every varying shade and degree of honorary rank, how much importance was attached to even the colours of official umbrellas,† and other, to us, minor observances, it cannot but be felt that these subordinate indications may chance to prove of material aid in illustrating doubtful interpretations.

Kai Káús.

No. 3.

Lakhnautí, A.H. "691, 693,"‡ and 694–695.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Very rare. Plate I. fig. 2. Type, as in the previous coins.

* The Bengal Mints, after the initial uncertainty, soon settle themselves down to follow the established Dehli models. In the latter, it will be seen, great care was taken by all those sovereigns who could boast of a Royal descent, to define the fact upon their coins. Bahrám Sháh, Masúd Sháh, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd bin Altamsh, and Ibrahim bin Fírúz all entitle themselves بن السلطان. Balban, Kai Kubád, Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz, and the great Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh have to be content with their own self-achieved السلطان

† وسه چتر برداست لعل وسیاه و سپید Minhájul-Siráj, p, 263; اقطاع بداون وچتر سبز یافت ditto, p. 181, A.H. 625.

‡ Bábu Rájendralála Mitra notices four coins of this king with the dates 691 and 693. Journ. As Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 579. He was disposed to read the mint as Sunárgaon. Of Col. Guthrie's three specimens, two bear distinct traces of the name of Lakhnautí.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	الامام
ركن الدنيا والدين ابو	المستعصم
المظفر كيكاوس سلطان	امير المومنين
بن سلطان بن سلطان	

Margin, ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة خمس وتسعين وستمايه

II.—SHAMS-UD-DI'N FI'RUZ.

Whatever may have been the actual date of Násir-ud-dín's decease or political obscuration, we tread upon more firm ground in the conjoint testimony of the coins and the historical reminiscences of Ibn Batutah, in the assurance that his son, Shams-ud-din Fíruz, was in full possession of power in Western Bengal at the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father, in 722–3 A.H.* The African traveller incidentally mentions that to the court of this southern monarch fled the nobles who had engaged in the contemplated treason, which originated in the camp of the army of the Dakhin, of which the imperial heir was commander. Professedly written history is altogether at fault in establishing the existence or illustrating the reign of this sovereign; and even Ibn Batutah†

* As this passage presents no particular difficulty, beyond the difference of the texts from which English and French translators have drawn their inspiration, I merely annex the rendering given in the amended Paris edition, vol. iii., p. 210. "Les autres émirs s'enfuirent près du Sultan Chems eddîn, fils du sultan Nâcir-eddîn, fils du sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Balaban, et se fixèrent à sa cour... Les émirs fugitifs séjournèrent près du sultan Chems eddîn. Dans la suite, celui-ci mourut, léguant le trône à son fils Chihâb eddîn. Ce prince succéda à son père; mais son frère cadet, Ghiyâth eddîn Behâdoûr Bôurah (ce dernier mot signifie, dans la langue indienne *le noir*), le vanquit, s'empara du royaume, et tua son frère Kothloû Khân, ainsi que la plupart de ses autres frères. Deux de ceux-ci, le sultan Chihâb eddîn, et Nâsir eddîn, s'enfuirent près de Toghlok, qui se mit en marche avec eux, afin de combattre le fratricide. Il laissa dans son royaume son fils Mohammed en qualité de vice-roi, et s'avança en hâte vers le pays de Lacnaouty. Il s'en rendit maître, fit prisonnier soe sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Behadoûr et reprit avec ce captif le chemin de sa capitale." See also Lee's Translation, p. 128.

† Ibn Batutah in the following extract tells us so much about the real history of Bengal at, and previous to his own visit, that I quote the Arabic text *in extenso*; I feel it is the more necessary to reproduce the original version on this occasion, as Dr. Lee's translation is altogether deficient in any reference to the passage, which was clearly wanting in the MSS. at his disposal.

* ذكر سلطان بنجالة وهوالسلطان فخر الدين الملقب بفخرة *

سلطان فاضل محبّ فى الغرباء وخصوصاً الفقرآء والمتصوفة وكانت

does little more than place upon record the affiliation, elevation, and decease of Shams-ud-dín, whose own coins alone furnish the additional item of his regal name of Fírúz; and in their marginal records

مملكة هذه البلاد للسلطان ناصر الدين بن السطان غياث الدين
بلبن وهو الذي ولي ولدهُ معز الدين الملك بدهلي فتوجه لقتا له والتقيا
بالنهر وسمي لقاوهما لقاء السعدين وقدذكرنا ذلك وانه ترك الملك
لولده وعاد الى بنجالة فاقام بها الى ان توفى وولى ابنه شمش الدين
الى ان توفى فولى ابنه شهاب الدين الى ان غلب عليه اخوه
غياث الدين بهادور بور فاستنصر شهاب الدين بالسلطان غياث الدين
تغلق فنصره واخذ بهادور بور اسيرا ثم اطلقه ابنه محمد لما ملك
على ان يقاسمه ملك فنكث عليه فقاتله حتى قتله وولى على هذه
البلاد صهرا له فقتله العسكر واستولى على ملكها على شاه وهو اذذاك
ببلاد اللكنوتى فلما راى فخر الدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد
السلطان ناصر الدين وهو مولى لهم خالف بسدكاوان وبلاد بنجالة
واستقل بالملك واشتدت الفتنة بينه وبين على شاه فاذا كانت ايام
الشتاء والوحل اغار فخر الدين على بلاد اللكنوتى فى البحر لقوته فيه
واذا عادت الأيام التى لامطر فيها اغار عئى شاه علي بنجالة فى البر
لقوته فيه

Vol. iv. p. 212, Paris edition.

TRANSLATION.

C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddîn, surnommé Fakreh, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers, surtout les fakîrs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâssir eddîn, fils du Sultan Ghiyâth ed dîn Balban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddîn, fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâssir eddîn se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils; ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve, et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté cela, et comment Nâssir eddîn abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils, Chams eddîn, qui, après son trépas, fut lui-même remplacé par son fils, Chihâb eddîn, lequel fut vaincu par son frère, Ghiyâth eddîn Béhâdour Boûr. Chihâb eddîn demanda du secours au Sultan Ghiyâth eddîn Toghlok, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Béhâdour Boûr. Celui-ci fut ensuite relâché par le fils de Toghlok, Mohammed, après son avénement, à condition de partager avec lui la royauté du Bengale; mais il se révolta contre lui, et Mohammad lui fit la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'il le tuât. Il nomma alors gouverneur de ce pays un de ses beaux-frères, que les troupes massacrèrent. 'Aly Châh, qui se trouvait alors dans le pays de Lacnaouty, s' empara de la royauté du Bengale. Quand Fakhr eddîn vit que la puissance royale était sortie de la famille du Sultan Nâssir eddîn, dont il était un des affranchis (ou clients), il se révolta à Sodcâwân et dans le Bengale, et se déclara indépendant. Une violente inimitié survint entre lui et 'Aly Châh. Lorsqu'arrivaient le temps de l'hiver et la saison des pluies, Fakhr eddîn faisait une incursion sur le pays de Lacnaouty, au moyen du fleuve, sur lequel il était puissant. Mais quand revenaient les jours où il ne tombe pas de pluie, 'Aly Châh fondait sur le Bengale par la voie de terre, à cause de la puissance qu'il avait sur celle-ci.

establish the fact of his possession of Lukhnautí during the period embraced between the years 702–722, and (at some moment) of his ownership the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgaon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as السلطان.

Shams-ud-din. Fírúz Sháh.

No. 4.

Lakhnautí, A.H. 702;* 715, (Col. Bush), 720, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.4 grs. Very rare. Plate I., fig. 3. Type as above.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	الامـــــام
شمس الدنیاوالدین	المـــستعصم
ابو المظفر فیروز شاہ	امیر المومنین
السلطان	

Margin, [سبعماية] و عشرين سنة لكهنوتي بحضرت هذالفضة ضرب

No. 5.

Sonárgaon, A.H. ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.
Type as above.

III.—SHAHÁB-UD-DI'N. *BUGHRAH* SHÁH.

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of the once recognised heir-apparent of Balban.

* See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was published by me in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact, as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined —if Calcutta selections be not at fault*—to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as بعدة; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of بغرة, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of بغراخان,† a name which was even further distorted from the Túrki original by the conversion of the medial ر *r* into the vernacular *cerebral* ड or ऽ = *ḍ*. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenor of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghiás-ud-dín *Bahádur Sháh* who in 724 A. H. drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín to take refuge with Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,‡ as far as the exercise of his Mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have been lost to fame, from the

* The name of this king does not appear in any of Rajendralál's lists.

† The ancient name of طنغاج بغراخان of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A. H. (Frœhn Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final ة in place of the vowel ا is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an ة (iii. 231, 5, 293.) Ferishtah (*text*, p. 131) has بغرا, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p. 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

‡ Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the fort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "*Malik*" Shaháb-ud-dín, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A. H. 734); but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal; but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Budáun or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities; and as such I transcribe

date when he was absorbed with an associate fugitive brother (Násir-ud-dín) under the ægis of the Emperor of Dehli.

Shaháb-ud-dìn. Bughrah Sháh.

No. 6.

Mint, ?

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168.5 grs. Two coins only, *Col. Guthrie.* Plate I., fig. 4.

both the text and Dr. Mills' translation of the brief passages which may chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5:

सहाब्दीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेन्द्रमहम्मदा ।
सैराजो मि[स्रितोऽम]त्यो वैरिणापि कृपानिधिः ॥

"By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile Yavanas SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN and the rest, though an enemy, was SAIRÁJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11:

संवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरौ सैराजदेवेनभर-
णागतमलिकसहाब्दीनरांचितं ॥

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from MALIK SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN, acting under the protecting favour of SAIRÁJA DEVA aforesaid."

—See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. v., 1836, p. 341).

A subordinate but still more open inquiry also suggests itself in connexion with the mention of Shaháb-ud-dín in 734 A. H., as to whether, amid the strange confusion of names and titles, *the* "Kadr Khán," who is noticed by Ferishtah under the original designation of Malik Bídar Khilji, may not, perchance, have been the identical Shaháb-ud-dín *Bughrah*, reinstated as simple governor in Lakhnauti, as his brother Bahádur was restored to power in Sonárgaon. I am aware that this is treacherous ground to venture upon; but such a supposition is not without other incidental support, especially in Ibn Batutah's passage (original, iii. 214, quoted at p 48), where Kadr Khán is spoken of as if he had been in effect the last scion of the family of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Bughrah.

The original passages in Ferishtah are as follows (i. p. 237) :—

و ملك بيدار خلجي را قدر خان خطاب كردة چون شاة ناصر الدين فوت شدة بود اقطاع لكهنوتي باو داد. (i. p. 244). درين وقت يكي از نوكران قدر خان كه او را ملك فخر الدين گفتندى بعد از فوت بهرام خان در بنگالة بغي ورزيد و قدر خان را كشتة خزاين لكهنوتي متصرف شد

See also Briggs' Translation, i. pp. 412, 423.

The Tárikh Mubárak Sháhi has the name in manifest mistranscription as *Bandár.*

و ملك بندار خلجي قدر خان شد و اقطاع لكهنوتي يافت

A difficulty necessarily suggests itself in regard to the tribe of *Khilji*, but the use of the name in its non-ethnic sense might readily be explained by the old subordination of the Bengal family to the Khilji dynasty of Firúz, or the specially *Khilji* serial succession of the earlier governors of Bengal.

Type as usual.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطـــان الاعظـــم	الامـــــــــام
غياث الدنيا و الدين	المستعصـــــم
ابو المظفر بهادر شاه	امير المومنيـــن
السلطان ابن سلطان	

Margin, (remainder illegible) ضرب هذا الـــ

IV.—BAHADUR SHA'H.

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh, which remains at all obscure, is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records with sufficient distinctness, that he conquered and set aside his regnant brother *Shahán-ud-dín*, sometime prior to Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released, and restored with added honours,* by Muhammad bin Tughlak, almost immediately on his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A. H. 799,† assigning to him an inconceivable interval of placid repose until A. H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated.

The two statements are certainly at variance, but Ibn Batutah's is the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the up to this time legible dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect

* چون سلطان بهادر ستار كامي را بملك اوده رخصت كرد انچه زر نقد در خزنه بود بيكبار در انعام او داد Tabakát-i-Akbari.

See also Zíá-i-Barni, printed edit. p. 461.

† Stewart, p. 75. Ferishtah (Briggs) i. 406.

die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20 ;* which would bring the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate place of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud dín Fírúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the Eastern capital "Sonárgaon" occurs on a coin of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning might be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the South was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádur Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordinary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the father and son, in their newly-established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations

* Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal Mint Masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or omission of the conjunction و *vau*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *twenties*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*.

of the present series is contributed by coin No. 9, in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 628.* The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as sometime in or after the year A.H. 730 Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghiáspúr* (coin No. 8), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

IV. Bahádur Sháh.

No. 7.

Lakhnautí, A. H. 710?, 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4,† *break*, 720, 721, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167.5 grs. Rare.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	الامام
غياث الدنيا والدين	المستعصم
ابو المظفر بهادر شاه	امير المومنين
السلسان بن سلطان	

Margin, ضرب هذالفضة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة احد وسبعماية

* Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádur's reinstallation:—"Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibráhim Khán; il couvint avec Behâdour Boûrah qu'ils posséderaient le dit royaume par égales moitiés; que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies; que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghiyâth eddîn enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (برباط), comme ôtage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghiyâth eddîn partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites; seulement il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibrâhîm Khân, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldjí altatiry (ذلجي التتري) Elles combattirent Ghiyâth eddîn et le tuèrent; elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces."—Vol. iii. p. 316.

† The dates 7-3, 7-4, may perchance be obliterated records of 723 and 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

No. 8.

Second Mint, Ghíáspúr. Date, 730.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 and 164.5 grs. Very rare. Two coins. *Col. Guthrie.* Plate I., fig. 5.

Margin, * هذالسكة قصبه غياثپور سنة ثلاثين *

IV. Bahádur Sháh,

as Vassal *under* Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 9.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 728.

Silver. Weight, 140 grs. Unique. *Dehli Archæological Society.*

Obverse, السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان ابن السلطان

Reverse, Area, ضرب بامر الواثق بالله محمد بن تغلق شاه

Margin, هذه السكه بحضرة سنارگانو سنه ثمان و عشرين و سبعماية

Muhammad *bin Tughlak Sháh,* Emperor of Hindustán,

(in his own name) after the re-conquest of Bengal.

No. 10.

Lakhnauti, A.H. 733.

Silver. Small coins. Size, v. to v¼. Weight of well-preserved coins, 168.5 grs. Five specimens, *Col. Guthrie.* Plate I., fig. 6.

Obv.	Rev.
ابو بكر	
المجـــاهـــد في	لا اله الا اللـــه
سبيـــل اللـــه	محـــمـــد
محمد بن تغلق شاه	رسول اللـــه

Reverse, Margin,

ضرب هذه الفضه بشهر لكهنوتى سنه ثلاث و ثلثين و سبعمايه

If the place of mintage of these imperial coins had been illegible, I should almost have been prepared, on the strength of the peculiarity of the forms of the letters, to have assigned their execution to a Bengal artist. The original model for the type of coinage may be seen in fig. 90, page 54, Pathán Sultáns. The late Mr. G. Freeling, of the Bengal C.S., has left on record his acquisition of a gold piece of the same design (from the Dehli Mint) dated A.H. 725.

24744

V.—FAKHR-UD-DIN. MUBÁRAK SHÁH.

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tátár Khán, honorarily entitled Bahrám Khán, an adopted son of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sonárgaon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom of Bengal was entrusted to Kadr Khán. On the death of Bahrám Khán,* which is stated to have taken place in 739—but may probably have to be antedated to 737—Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak, his *Siláhdár*, took possession of the government, and proclaimed his independence. He was in the first instance defeated by the troops sent against him from Lakhnauti, but finally succeeded in maintaining his authority, and, as the coins prove, in retaining his hold on Sonárgaon and its dependencies throughout the nine years, from 741 to 750 A.H., comparatively undisturbed. The history of the period is confused, and the dates given by the native authors prove of little value;† but the coins establish the fact that in 751 another ruler, designated *Ikhtiár-úd-dín* Ghází Sháh, presided over the Mints of Eastern Bengal.

v. *Fakhr-ud-din.* Mubárak Sháh.

No. 11.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 737,—741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750.

Silver. Size, vi. to vi½. Weight, 166.0 grs. Unique.

Plate I., fig. 7.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطـــان الاعظم	يمين خليفه الله
فخر الدنيا و الدين	ناصـــــر اميـــر
ابو المظفر مبارکشاه	المو منيـــــن
السلـــــــطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذة السکة بحضرة جلال سنار کانو سنة سبع و ثلثين و سبعماية

* Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad says, Mubárak killed Bahrám Khán; while Abul Fazl affirms that Mubárak put Kadr Khán to death.—Ayín-i-Akbari, ii. 21.

† Ferishtah, Briggs, i. pp. 412-413; iv. 328. Stewart, pp. 80-83.

The above specimen is unique in date, and varies in the opening legend of the reverse from the less rare coins of later years, which commence with الخليفة | يمين*

VI.—'ALÁ-UD-DÍN. 'ALÍ SHÁH.

'Alí Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble, have endowed with the surname of his adversary Mubárak, and ordinarily refer to as "'Ali Mubárak,"† assumed kingship on the death of Ḳadr Khán, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alá-ud-dín. The more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak of Sonárgaon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by Alí Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the Western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Fírúzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.‡ 'Alí Sháh is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Hájí Ilías.§

'Alá-ud-dín. 'Alí Sháh.

No. 12.

Fírúzábád, 742, 744, 745, 746.

Silver. Size, vi½. Weight, 166.7 grs. Rare. Plate I. fig. 8.

Type as usual.

* See also an engraving of his coin (dated 750) Pathán Sultáns, fig. 151 and page 82.

† Budauni MS. Ferishtah, iv. 329. Stewart, p. 82. Ayín-i-Akbari, ii. 21.

‡ Stewart, speaking of Fírúz's advance against Ilías, says, "the Emperor advanced to a place now called Feroseporeábad, where he pitched his camp and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua," p. 84. There is a *Mahal* Fírúzpúr in *Sircar* Tandah, noticed in the Ayín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 2. See also the note from Shams-i-Siráj, quoted below (p. 61), under the notice of Ilías Sháh's reign.

§ Stewart, p. 83.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	سكندر الزمان
علاء الدنيا و الدين	المخصوص
ابوا لمظفر عليشاه	بعنايت الرحمن ناصر
السلطان	اميرالمومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذ الفضة السكه في البادة فيروز اباد سنة اثني اربعين وسبعماية

VII.—IKHTIÁR-UD-DÍN. GHÁZÍ SHÁH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sonárgaon in A. H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal, except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dín and his execution by 'Alí Mubárak in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Iliás "one year and five months afterwards."*

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubárak was succeeded by his own *son*, as the *Ul Sultán bin Ul Sultán* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Ghází Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sonárgaon by Iliás, in A.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III. assailed him in his newly consolidated monarchy in 754.†

* Stewart, p. 83.

† Shams-i-Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dín Iliás captured and slew Fakhr-ud-dín after Fírúz III.'s first expedition into Bengal, and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of reasserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dín (who had fled for protection to Dehli), to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. It is asserted that although Fírúz succeeded in obtaining this concession from Sikandar, who, in the interval, had succeeded to his father's throne, Zafar Khán himself was wise enough to decline the dangerous

Ikhtiár-ud-dín. Ghází Sháh.

No. 13.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 751-753.

Silver. Size, vi. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare indeed. Three coins, *Col. Guthrie.* Plate I. fig. 9.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الاعظم	يمين الخليفة
اختيار الدنيا والدين	ناصر امير
ابو المظفر غازيشاه	المومنين
السلطان بن السلطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سنار كانو سنه احدي وخمسين وسبعماية

VII.—SHAMS-UD-DIN. ILIA'S SHAH.

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches —the suggestive development of obscure tradition, and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archæological functions, in the present series, declares itself in the accession of Ilías Sháh, the first recognised and effectively independent Moslem Sultán of Bengal, the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introductions to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed, England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

proximity to so powerful a rival monarch, and to return in the suite of the Sultán. The Bengáli troops, under Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Tattah, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Guzrát.—Shams-i-Siráj, book ii. cap. 9, etc.—See also Journal Archæological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis's abstract translation), 1849, p. 15.

The Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháhi (dedicated to Mubárak II.), the concluding date of which is 838 A.H., also declares that Háji Ilías killed Fakhr-ud-dín in 741 A.H. This last date is a manifest error; as is also, probably, the omission, by both authors, of the words *son of* before the name of Fakhr-ud-dín.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal* adopts the conclusion that Hájí Ilías first obtained power on the assassination of "'Ali Mubárak" in 745-6, but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one, will prepare the reader for the corrections involved, though not, perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallic testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Alí Sháh and Hájí Ilías, before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilías is seen to have coined money in Fírúzábád in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Alí Sháh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahár hoard reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Alí Sháh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Fírúz III, to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country†—which effectively laid

* Stewart, p. 83.

† Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akdálah*, the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Ziá-i-Barni's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Firúz Sháh's (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H.:—

واکداله نام موضعي است نزدیک پنڈوه که یك طرف آن آب است
و طرف دوم جنگل است دران اکداله تحصین کرد و از پنڈوه مردم کارآمده
را با زن و بچه در اکداله برد. P. 588, printed edit.

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan."

In the following passage Shams-i-Siráj desires to make it appear that Fírúz III. gave his *own* name to the city of Pandua; but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Fírúz became king of Dehli, it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-dín Fírúz of Bengal, of the present series. The quotation is otherwise of value, as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis:—

(فیروز شاه) در پنڈوه رسید در آن مقام خطبه بنام حضرت فیروز شاه

the foundation of the ultimate independence of Bengal. A monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and to eject from Hindustán the Moghuls who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country "from Bhíra to Bahár."

Shams-ud-din. Iliás Sháh.

No. 14.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, selected specimens, 168.0 grs.; ordinary weights, 166.0 grs.

Type No. 1. The old Dehli pattern.

Obverse, Square area.

Reverse, Square area, within a circle.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان الغازي	سكندر ثاني
شمس الدنيا والدين	يمين الخلافة ناصر
ابو المظفر الياس	امير المومنين
شاه السلطان	

Margin,

ضرب هذالفضة السكة في البلد فيروزاباد سنة اربع و خمسين و سبعماية

Type No. 1. Variety A. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 grs.

Obverse, Lettered surface.

Reverse, Small circle, area.

No. 15.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 758.

Type No. 2. Broad coin. Size, ix. Weight of the best and selected specimens, 166.0 grs. only.

Obverse, Plain lettered surface.

Reverse, Circular area, with narrow margin.

خواندند و نام شهر فيروز آباد نهادند چون سلطان فيروز شاه اكداله را آزاد پور نام كرد و شهر پندوة را فيروز آباد * * * * (hence) آزاد پور عرف اكداله و فيروز آباد عرف پندوة

From the original MS. in the possession of Ziá ud-din Khán of Lohárú.

Legends, both obverse and reverse as in No. 1 type.

Marginal legend,

ضرب هذا السكه بحضرة فيروزاباد سنه ثمان و خمسين و سبعماية

The Kooch Bahár trove must have been rich in this type of coin, and of the particular year A. H. 758, as out of 109 specimens in Col. Guthrie's collection, there is no single example of any other date.

No. 16.

Sonárgaon, A. H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

Type No. 3. Size, vii. Present weight, 166 grs. after the obvious reduction by boring out. Plate II., fig. 10.

Obverse, Square area.

Reverse, Circular area, with broad margin.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان العادل	
شمس الدنيا والدين	سكندر الثاني
ابو المظفر الياس	يمين الخلافة
شاه السلطان	امير المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سنارگانو سنه خمس و خمسين و سبعماية

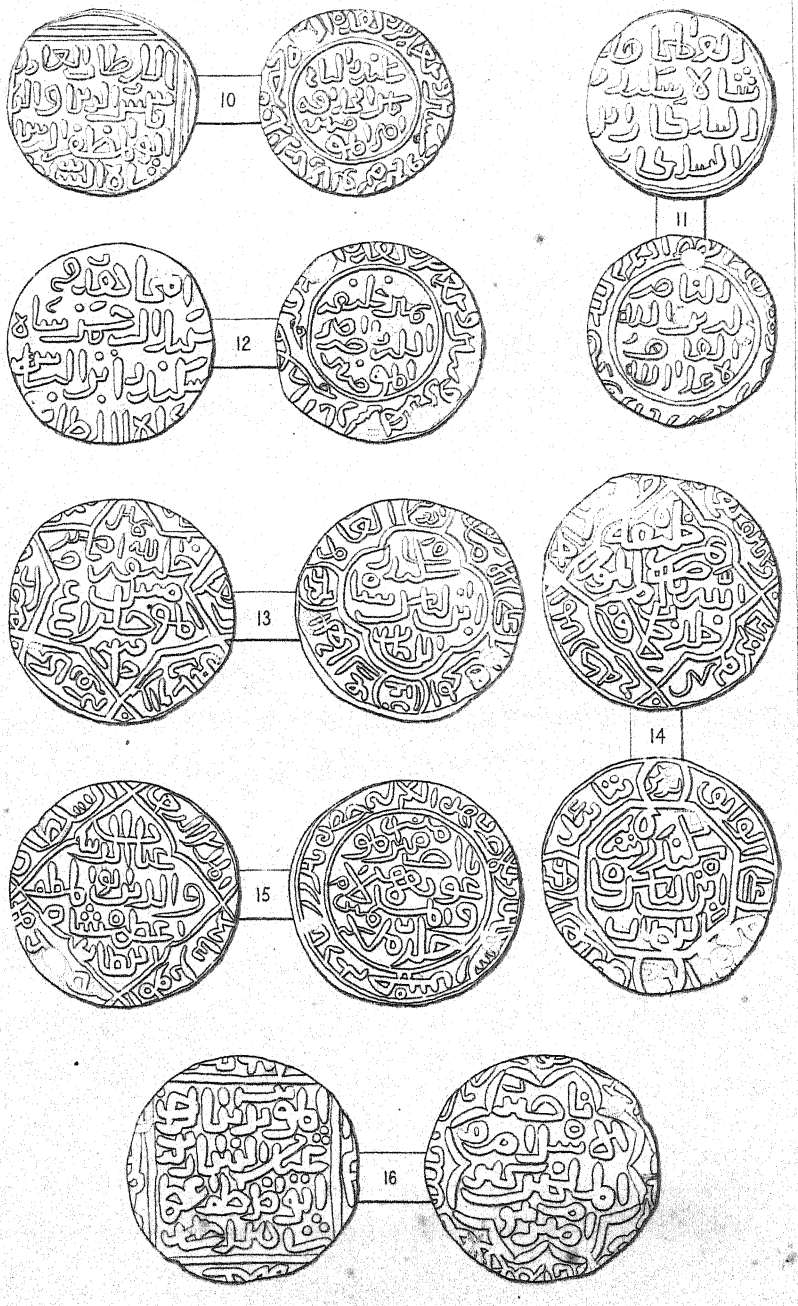
IX.—SIKANDAR BIN ILIÁS.

This king—the second only in the still incomplete assertion of local independence of allegiance to the throne of Dehli—exhibits in the material wealth of his national coinage the striking progress incident to comparative freedom and identity of home interests, which may be achieved, almost on the instant, by the denizens of a commercial centre so favoured by nature as the Delta of the Ganges.

Tried by such a test, few statistical returns could present more effectively the contrast disclosed in the Kooch Bahár treasure between the accumulated produce of the Bengal Mints, representing a century and a quarter's limited activity, attended with all the advantages of a diffused circulation, but under a subordinate government, as compared with the overwhelming array of coins bearing the impress of a single unfettered monarch, whose money was, in effect, new from the dies. To numismatists the enhanced proportion will be

BENGAL COINS

PL. II.



W. West, sc.

more significantly shown by a reference to the additional number of Mint-cities, the singular variety of new types produced, and above all, by the sustained series and corroborating repetitions of annual dates. It is under the latter aspect alone that I have now to comment on the history of a reign already sufficiently told in other pages. Sikandar Sháh placidly succeeded his father towards the end of 759 A.H., and the coins of the period sufficiently support the date of such a transfer of power, in the final year 758 recorded on the issues of the father, though proof of the accession of the son is less marked, as the seeming anomaly obtained—under the conjoint efforts of father and son to achieve release from thraldom to a distant suzerain—of a concession to the son of much independent power, and, coincidently, the right to coin money in his own name, whether in his own camps or in his father's royal cities. Though some of the earlier designed coins give evidence of due humility in titular phraseology, the same simplicity is adhered to, in continuous mintages, long after the removal of any possible impediments or restrictions to the adoption of comparatively exalted titles; though in the more independent governmental mintages of 758 A.H. (No. 21) the السلطان المعظم is affected even during the life-time of the father, and, after his own accession, higher assumptions, and a more definite approach towards personal hierarchical honors, are discovered in the metropolitan issues of 766-780 (No. 22), while special service against the infidels seems to be implied in the novel intitulation of القاهر الاعدا الله "The conqueror of the enemies of God," on the Fírúzábád money of 769 A.H. (No. 23).

But the most interesting details furnished by Sikandar's coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Moslems, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts—conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress—over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis, the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost unprecedented: their various capitals, situated within easy distance of one another, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the Great Ganges or the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally

recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix of حضرت to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.

Sikandar's mint cities were five in number—No. 2, *Firúzábád;* 3, *Satgaon;* and 4, *Shahr Nau,* in Western Bengal; with 5, *Sonárgaon;* and 6, *Muazamábád,* in the Eastern division of the province.

2. The first-named mint, in addition to the preferential *Hazrat,** is styled variously *Baldat* and بلدة المحروسة "fortified city," a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of *Akdálah,* so celebrated in the military annals of the time (coin No. 26).

3. *Satgaon* is distinguished by the prefix of عرصة (Atrium) a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country,† a sense which would well accord with its application to Satgaon, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper.‡ In the subsequent reign of Aazam the mint specification is more directly brought into association with the town itself in the seemingly more definite localization involved in the word قصبة§

4. *Shahr Nau,* I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:|| it is variously denominated as the simple *'Arsat* or عرصة المعمورة (populous, richly

* حضرة "Præsentia, Majestas; urbs, in qua est regis sedes."

† عرصهٔ زمین in Persian, means "surface of the earth." Sir Henry Elliot remarks, "The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *Pergunnah* were سق, خطه, عرصه, دیار, ولایت, and اقطاع —Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voc* "Circár."

‡ Zíá-i-Barni, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Sháh's expedition to Bengal (A. H. 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions "Lakhnauti, Sunárgaon, and Satgaon" (p. 450, printed edit.).

The Ayín-i-Akbari, in the XVI. cent. A. D. thus refers to Satgaon, "There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other; one called Satgaon, and the other Hoogly with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans."—Gladwin, ii. p. 15. See also Rennell, p. 57. Stewart's Bengal, pp. 186, 240, 243, 330.

§ From قصب "amputavit:" hence قصبة "oppidum, *vel* potior, præcipua pars oppidorum."

|| The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Col. Yule reminds me) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's *Cernove.* The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth

cultivated).* This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in Mint sequence.

5. *Sanárgaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative designation of حضرة جلال, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Muazamábád.

6. *Muazamabad.* There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar about 758-759 A. H., when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of المعظم, without trenching upon the superlative الاعظم usually reserved for the reigning monarch. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the اقليم معظم اباد (No. 19) of 760 A. H., to the بلدة المعظم معظماباد, "the great city of Muāzamábád" (No. 18) of about 780 A. H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon

century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens. Having departed hence, he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia. having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward, in search of carbuncles' . . he , returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicoló Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 508; and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Asia de João de Barros" (Lisbon, 1777, vol. iv. [viii.], p. 465 *et seq.*). At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with, "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shir Sháh eventually overcame) the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "a principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas, das nossas, e duzentos mil vizinhos," (p. 458). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Daca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579; Churchill, viii. 54; also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p. 55; Stewart, p. 44, and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to., London, Black, Parbury and Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

* The adjective (derived from عمر, Coluit) will admit of other meanings, and if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well built," locally *Pakka*.

from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حضرة جلال of Eastern Bengal (No. 32 A.)

With a view to keep these brief geographical notices under one heading, I advert for the moment to No. 7, *Ghiaspur*, of which locality I have been able to discover no trace; and likewise anticipate the due order of the examination of Aāzem Sháh's mint cities in referring to the sole remaining name of *Jannatábád*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,* but which is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the Moghuls made their way into Bengal.

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to Aāzam's mints is the substitution of the word قصبة in lieu of بلدة† as the prefix to Fírúzábád (No. 35), in parallel progress towards centralization with the Mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

Sikandar Sháh *bin Ilias Shah.*

No. 17.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 758, 759, 760.

Type No. 1. Ordinary simple obverse, with reverse circular are a and margin.

Obv.	Rev.
سكندر شاه	المجاهد
ابن الياس شاه	في سبيل
السلطان	الرحمن

Margin,

ضرب هذ الفضه السكه في البلده فيروز اباد سنه ثلاث و خمسين و سبعماية

* Ayín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 11; Stewart's Bengal, 124. Bengal itself was called جنّة البلاد, "The Paradise of Regions." Ibn Batutah, iv. p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal دوزخ بور نعمة, "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." Marsden, Num. Orient. p. 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Sháh, of A. H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "*Jannatabad.*"

† بلد "regio;" also "oppidum." The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بِلَاد and بُلْدَان.

No. 18.

Sonárgaon, A. H. 756, 757, 759, 760, 763.

Type No. 2. The usual lettered obverse with circular area and margin reverse.

Obv.	Rev.
المجاهد في	
سبيل الرحمن	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه ابن الياس	الله ناصر امير
شاه السلطان	المومنين

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة جلال سنارگانو سنه ستين وسبعمايه

No. 19.

Muâzamábád, A. H. 760, 761, 763, 764. Plate II. fig. 12.

Variety A.

Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه اقليم معظم اباد سنه احدي و ستين و سبعمايه

No. 20.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 764.

Variety B.

No. 21.

Sonárgaon, A. H. 758, 759.

Type No. 3. As usual.

Obv.	Rev.
السلطان المعظم	
سكندر شاه	يمين خليفه
ابن الياس شاه	الله ناصر امير
السلطان	المومنين

Margin, as usual.

No. 22.

Fírúzábád, A.H. 765, 766, 770, 771, 772, 773, 776, 779, 780.

Type No. 4. Coarse coins, badly formed letters. *Obverse*, simple lettered surface. *Reverse*, circular area.

Obv.	Rev.
الامام	يمين خليفه
الاعظم ابو	الله ناصر امير
المجاهد سكندر	المومنين
شاه ابن الياس	خلد الله خلافة
شاه السلطان	

Margin, هذه السكه بحضرت فيروز اباد سنه سبعين و سبعماية

No. 23.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 769.

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare. Plate II. fig. 11.

Type No. 5. Similar design to type 1.

Obv.	Rev.
ابو المجاهد	الناصر
سكندر شاه	الدين الله
السلطان ابن	القاهر
السلطان	لاعدا الله

Margin,

ضرب هذ الفضه السكه في البلده فيروز اباد سنه تسع و ستين و * *

No. 24.

Satgaon, A.H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 788. Plate II. fig. 13.

Type No. 6. *Obverse*, a quadrated scalloped shield, with open bosses on the margin containing the names of the "four friends," the intermediate spaces being filled in partially with the king's titles.

Reverse, hexagonal star-shaped lozenge, with exterior marginal legend.*

* The pattern legend of this mint-die seems to have been taken from oral data, as it is engraved as القاهر لاعد الله instead of the more critical لاعدا الله القاهر الله The increased facilities of intercourse by sea probably aided the colloquial knowledge of Arabic in the estuaries of Bengal; while the learned of Dehli had to rely more upon books and occasional teachers. Ibn Batutah tells us, that Muhammad bin Tughlak, though pretending to speak Arabic, did not distinguish himself in the act, while *Hájí* Iliás must himself have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Obv.	Rev.
سكندر شاه	يمين
ابن الياس شاه	خليفه الله ناصر امير
السلطان	المومنين خلد الله
	خلافة

Obverse Margin,

الامام العالم العادل ابو المجاهد —— ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه ستكانو سنه احد وثمانين و سبعمايه

No. 25.

Shahr Nau, A. H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786 Plate II. fig. 14.

Type No. 7. *Obverse*, a simple octagon, with four circlets in the margin containing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the rest of the exergue being filled in with the king's own titles.

Reverse, a diamond-shaped area with the crossed lines prolonged to the edge of the piece; the lines are slightly scalloped outwards to form an ornamental field.

Obv.	Rev.
سكندر شاه	يمين خليفه
ابن الياس شاه	الله ناصر امير المومنين
السلطان	خلد خلافة

Obverse Margin,

ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي الوثق بتاييد الرحمن ابو المجاهد

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه شهرنو سنه اثني وثمانين و سبعمايه

The name of the mint is imperfectly expressed on even the best specimens, and great latitude has been permitted in the omission or insertion of entire words in the reverse marginal legend.

Variety A. differs merely in the pattern of the reverse area, which is ornamented with double instead of single scallops.

No. 26.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792.

Type No. 8. *Obverse*, circular area, with a board margin divided

by circlets enclosing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the intermediate spaces being filled in with their titles.

Reverse, octagonal rose scalloped lozenge, with narrow margin.

Obverse,

الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان

Margin,

ابوبكر الاعظم عمر ابوالخليفه عثمان المعظم علي الامام

Reverse,

يمين الخليفة ناصر امير المومنين عون * الاسلام و المسلمين خلد خلافته

Margin,

ضرب هذة السكة المباركة في بلدة المحروسة فيروزاباد سنة ثمانين و سبعماية

No. 27.

Satgaon, A. H. 780.

Variety A. *Reverse* Margin,

ضوب هذة السكه المباركه في عرصة المعمورة ستكانو etc.

No. 28.

Muazamábád (the great city), A.H.?

Variety B. Mint, بلدة المعظم معظم اباد

No. 29.

Shahr Nau, A. H. 781.

Variety C. Mint, عرصة المعمورة شهر نو سنه احد و ثمانين

No. 30.

Col. Guthrie has a gold piece of type No. 8, size vii. and a half, weighing 158 grains. The coin is inferior in execution to the ordinary silver money. The letters are badly formed, and the marginal legend is altogether obliterated.†

No. 31.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787.

Type No. 9. *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin, broken

* M. Reinaud interpreted the word as عون, *Defensor* (Journal Asiatique, 1823, p. 272), in which he is followed by Marsden (ii. p. 567). Sayud Ahmad again, in his transcript of 'Ala-ud-din's Inscription of 710 A. H., reproduces the title as غوث الاسلا و المسلين, which, in effect, carries a nearly identical meaning (Asar-ul-sunadid, p. 58).

† The only other Bengal gold coins I am at present able to refer to are a well-preserved piece of *Jálál-ud dín* Fatah Shah bin Mahmud (dated A. H. 890), now in the possession of Colonel Guthrie, weighing 161.4 grains, and a coin in the B.M. assigned to 'Ala-ud-dín Husain (A. H. 905-927) which weighs 159.5 grains.

by small shields containing the names of the four companions of the Prophet; the intermediate spaces are filled in with titles which occasionally pertain to the king, but at times exclusively belong to the Imáms.*

Reverse, hexagonal field; narrow margin.

Obv.	Rev.
ابو المجاهد	يمين خليفه
سكندر شاه ابن الياس	الله ناصر امير المومنين
شاه السلطان	عون الاسلام والمسلم
	خلد ملك

Obverse Margin,

الامام (ابوبكر) الاعظم (عمر) الواثق (عثمان) بتائيد الرحمن (علي)

Reverse Margin,

ضرب هذه السكه المباركه في بلده فيروزاباد سنه ست و ثمانين و سبعمايه

X.—A'AZAM SHÁH.

The accession of Ghiás-ud-dín Aazam Sháh was disgraced by rebellion against his own father and coincident open war, in the course of which Sikandar fell in a general action between his own and his son's troops. Native historians are more than ordinarily obscure in the narration of these incidents, and the dates relied upon are singularly untrustworthy, when brought to the test of numismatic facts. Aazam's initial revolt is admitted to have gained force chiefly in Eastern Bengal, where his coinage substantially proves his administrative supremacy, whether as nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority, dating from 772 A. H.,—an increase of power seems to be associated with the mint record of a hold over Satgaon in 790 A. H., and a real or pretended occupancy of a portion of the territory of Pandua in 791, though the final eclipse of the royal titles of the father is delayed till 792 A. H.†

* الواثق in many instances is replaced by وابوالخليفه, while المعظم follows the name of عثمان.

† Stewart supposes that Sikandar met his death in 769 A. H. (p. 89); and an even more patent error places the decease of A'azam in 775 A. H. (p. 93). The Tabakát-i-Akbari, which devotes a special section to the history of Bengal, implies an amiable and undisturbed succession in this instance.

Ghiás-ud-dín Aazam Sháh, *bin Sikandar Sháh.*

No. 32.

Muazamábád, A. H. 772, 775, 776.

Silver. Size, viii½. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 16.

Type No. 1. *Obverse*, square area occupying nearly the whole surface of the coin, as in the old Dehli pattern.

Reverse, scalloped lozenge, forming an eight-pointed but contracted star.

Obv.	Rev.
المويد بتائيد الرحمن	ناصر الاسلام و
غياث الدنيا و الدين	المسلمين كين
ابو المظفر اعظم شاه	امير المومنين
السلطان	

Obverse Margin: On the upper edge, ابوبكر; on the left, عمر; in consecutive reading at the foot, عثمان; and on the right, علي

Reverse Margin,

هذه السكه المباركه في بلدة معظماباد سنه ثمان و سبعين و سبعماية

Variety A. In one instance بحضرت جلال supplies the place of في بلدة.

There is a doubt about the reading of the word كين "being humble;" the عين "Oculus" of Marsden would certainly be preferable in point of sense, but the forms of the letters of the word scarcely justify such a rendering, unless we admit of an unusual degree of even Bengálí imperfection in the fashioning these dies.

On two examples of this mintage *in silver*, the marginal legend bears the words هذه الدينار in clearly cut letters; but I imagine this seeming anomaly to have arisen from a fortuitous use of the dies for gold coins, which, in device, were identical with those employed for the silver money.

No. 33.

Jannatábád, A. H. 790.

Variety A. Similar obverse with circular reverse.

Mint. جنتا باد سنه تسعين و

Rev. Obv.




No. 34.

Type No. 2. There is a subordinate class of coins, following the devices of Type No. 1 (in size vii. and upwards), struck from less expanded dies, and generally of very inferior execution in the outlining of the letters. These are also from the mint of Muazamábád, and are dated in bungled and almost illegible words سبعو سبعماية وثمانو سعو, ثما ثما , احد و ثما ثما,—which may be designed to stand for 770 odd, 778, 780, and 781 respectively.

No. 35.

Fírúzábád, A. H. 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799.

Type No. 3. Size, viii. to viii¼. Weight, 166 grs. Plate II. fig. 15.

Obverse, scalloped diamond field ; broad margin.

Reverse, circular area.

Obv.	Rev.
غياث الدنيا	ناصر امير
والدين ابو المظفر	المومنين عون الاسلام
اعظمشاه	و المسلمين
السلطان	خلد ملكه

Obverse Margin, السلطان الاعظم المويد بتائيد الملك الرحمن

Reverse Margin,

هذة السكة بقصبة فيروزاباد سنة ثلاث و تسعين و سبعماية

The Reverse marginal records vary in the prefix to the name of the mint from the Kasbah above given, في حضرة and في حضرة المباركه being occasionally used.

No. 36.

Satgáon, A. H. 795, 798.

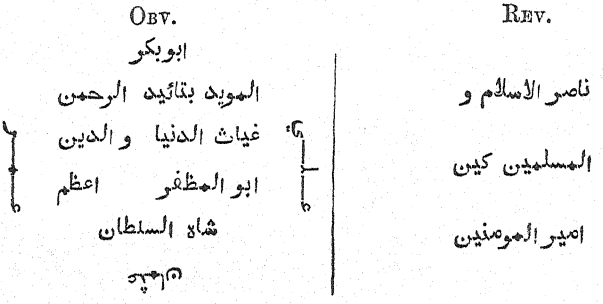
Variety A.

No. 37.

Satgáon, A. H. 790, 795, 796.

Type No. 4. *Obverse*, area, a square, with a looped semicircle at each of the sides, forming a kind of amalgamation of the margin with the central device.

Reverse, area, a four-pointed star-shaped lozenge; the outside spaces being filled in with the marginal legend.



Reverse Margin,

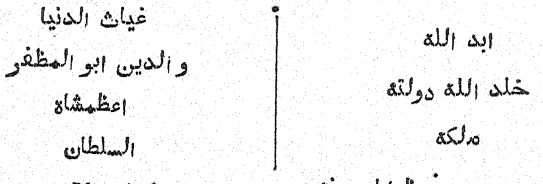
ضرب هذ السكه * * في عرصه ستكانو سنه تسعين و سبعماية

No. 38.

Type No. 5. Size, v. Weight, 166 grains.

Obverse, lettered surface.

Reverse, circular area; narrow margin.



Margin? * مُعظماباد سنه احد

The singular orthography adopted in the rendering of the term *Abdallah*, and the substitution of an initial ا *alif* in lieu of the grammatical ع *ain*, affords another instance of the ignorance of the local mint officials, and their tendency to reproduce the approximate *sounds* of words, without regard to the true powers of the letters employed.

A vacant space in the final setting up of this article invites me to extend it so far as to notice a limited series of coins which have hitherto

been erroneously associated with the mintages of Bengal proper,—I allude to the money of Táj-ud-dín Fírúz, whose date has, in like manner, been misapprehended by Marsden (p. 575), and by Mr. Laidlay, who follows his interpretation (J. A. S. B. xv. p. 330). The subjoined examples will show that the supposed date of 897 A. H. should be 807; and the consecutive numbers on the different coins now cited establish the fact that the potentate whose name they bear reigned at least from 804 to 823, having a capital entitled *Hájíábád*, which may with sufficient reason be identified with the *Hájípúr* of modern nomenclature. The introductory piece A. seems to have been issued by Táj-ud-dín's predecessor, and their several mintages alike depart from the ordinary style of Bengal coinages in the phraseology and finished execution of the Arabic legends, as well as in the weights of their currencies, which approximate closely to the full Dehli standard, in contrast to the reduced southern range of 166 grains.

A. Silver. Size, vii½. Weight, 165 grs. Unique. A. H. 797.

Obv.	Rev.
الناصرلدين	الواثق بتاييد
لدنان الحامي	الرحمن ابو المظفر
الاهل الايمان	محمد شاه السلطان
	٧٩٧

B. Silver. Size from vi½ to viii½. Weight, 168 grs., the full and *sustained* weight of several specimens.

Obv.	Rev.
سلطان	تاج الدنيا
العهد و الزمان	والدين فيروز
الواثق بتائيد الرحمن	شاه السلطان
ابو المظفر	
	٨٠٣

Obverse, lettered surface.

Reverse, square area, with imperfect marginal records, usually consisting of ضرب بحضرت حاجيا باد with the figured dates *at the foot*, rang-

ing onwards from 804 to 807 [Marsden], 810, 813, 814, 818, 819, 820, 822, and 823 A. H.

These coins are chiefly from the collection of the late Sir R. Jenkins, but have now passed into Colonel Guthrie's possession.

Among other rare and unpublished coins, having more or less connexion with the progress of events in Bengal, I may call attention to the subjoined piece of Shír Sháh (C.), which seems to mark his final triumph over Humáyún in 946 A. H. and his own assumption of imperial honours in Hindustán. The gold coin (D.) is of interest, as exhibiting the model from whence Akbar derived one of his types of money, which Oriental authors would have us believe were altogether of his special origination, even as they attribute so many of Shír Sháh's other admirable fiscal and revenue organizations to his Moghul successor. In coin E. we follow the spread of Shír Sháh's power northwards to the ancient capital of the Patháns, and the piece F. illustrates the retention of the family sway over the other extreme of the old dominion.

C. Silver. Size, vi¼. Weight, 163 grs. A. H. 946. Well executed Western characters.

Obverse, السلطان العادل المويد بتائيد الرحمن فريد الدنيا و الدين

Reverse, ابو المظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٩٤٦

D. Gold. Square coin. Weight, 168½ grs. Unique. (R. J. Brassey, Esq.).

Obverse, the Kalimah.

Reverse, شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्रीसेर साह.

E. Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 168 grs. Dehli. A. H. 948.

Obverse, Square area. لا اله الاالله محمد رسول الله

Margin, the names and titles of the four Imáms.

Reverse, Square area. السلطان شير شاه خلدالله ملكه ٩٤٨

At the foot, खीसीरी साह

Margin, ضرب بحضرت دهلي * * *

F. Silver. Size, viii. Weight, ? Satgáon, A. H. 951 (from the collection of the late G. H. Freeling, Bengal C. S.)

Circular area, اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلي امره و شانه

Margin,

جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر شير شاه ضرب ستكانو ٩٥١ खी इसलाम साह

BENGAL MINTS.

	1. Lakhnautí.	2. Fírúzábád.	3. Satgáon.	4. Shahr Nau.	5. Sonárgáon.	6. Muazamábád.
I. Kai Káús	A.H. 691.....695					— —
II. Shams-ud-dín	702.....722				*in possession.*	— —
III. Shaháb ud-dín						— —
IV. Bahádur Sháh	710,712.....720-722				IV. *Under Muhammad bin Tughlak*, 728	— —
Muhammad bin Tughlak (himself)	733					— —
V. Mubárak Sháh					737..... .. 741 to 750	— —
VI. 'Alí Sháh		742.....746				— —
VII. Ghází Sháh					751.....753	— —
VIII. Iliás Sháh		740.....758			753.....758	— —
IX. Sikandar Sháh		750.....792	780.....784	781—...786	756.....764	760——764
X. Aazam Sháh		791.....799	790 798	— —		772——781

Mint No. 7. Ghiáspúr..... IV. Bahádur Sháh, 730 A. H.

Mint No. 8. Jannatábád..... X. Aazam Sháh, 790 A. H.

Notes on the Jumma Masjid of Etawah.—By C. Horne, *Esq.*

[Received 5th April, 1866.]

Proceeding south from Humeganj at Etawah through the cutting leading to the Jumna, one observes on one's right hand (*i. e.* east), crowning an isolated mound, an old mosque. By those accustomed to the originally converted mosques of an early period, and as seen at Jaunpur and Benares, this may be at once recognized to have been altered from an ancient Hindu or a Buddhist structure by the process so well described by Fergusson in his Handbook of Architecture p. 81, vol. 1.—The style of the screen before the dome is the same as that at Jaunpur,* whilst the round buttresses at the back, and the coeval ornamentation, fix the period of its conversion.

On enquiring from some of the more intelligent, I found the age of the temple to be popularly reported to be coeval with that of Etawah city. Thus ع ی = $5 \times 6 \times 1 \times 400 \times 1 = 413$ which being deducted from 1282 Hijra (new expiring) leaves 809, which deducted from 1866 A. D. leaves 997 A. D. which may very probably represent the real date of the *Hindu* erection.

As is often the case, there may have been a former temple, but the material, black kunkur, does not shew age well; whilst the granite-pillars have been altered and partially carved at different periods.

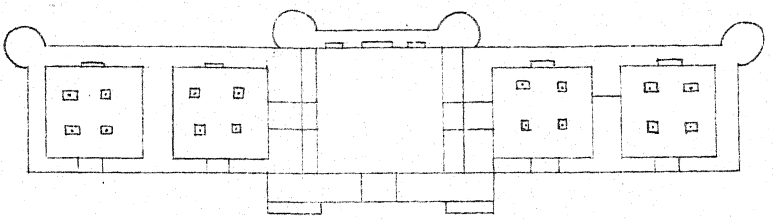
Mr. Hume of Etawah tells me he is about to publish a complete description of it with engravings; I therefore submit these notes merely as the means of drawing attention to the building, which, taken in connection with other ancient remains, is worthy of a visit.

The main portion of the building is of black kunkur; although there are fragments of blue granite boulders in the walls, and portions of at least 10 granite columns of varying lengths. The average length of them is 5-6 with a thickness of 8 inches; but one at the gate, where it is used as an architrave, exceeds 7 feet. There are also plain pillars of red and light coloured sandstone.

I could not, in my short visit, ascertain whence the granite columns had been brought. They have, many of them, been cut in half, so that they now stand about 8′-3″ in height; whilst one from which the carving

* Atallah, Jumma Masjid and other mosques.

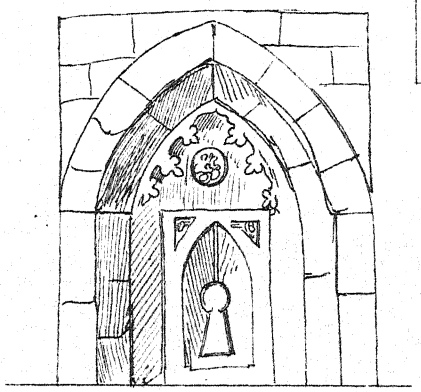
JUMMA MUSJID
ETAWAH



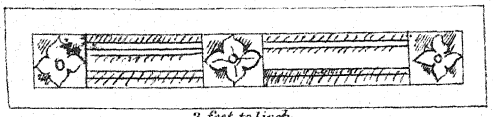
PLAN

Scale one inch = 40 feet

DETAIL DRAWINGS.



RECESSES IN MOSQUE.
Scale 4 feet to 1 inch.

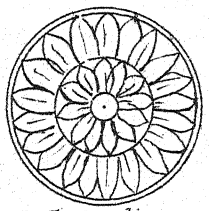


2 feet to 1 inch.
Granite block let in over principal doorway

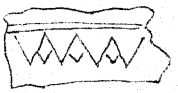


Chejjah bracket

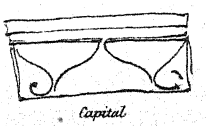




The flower used in ornament



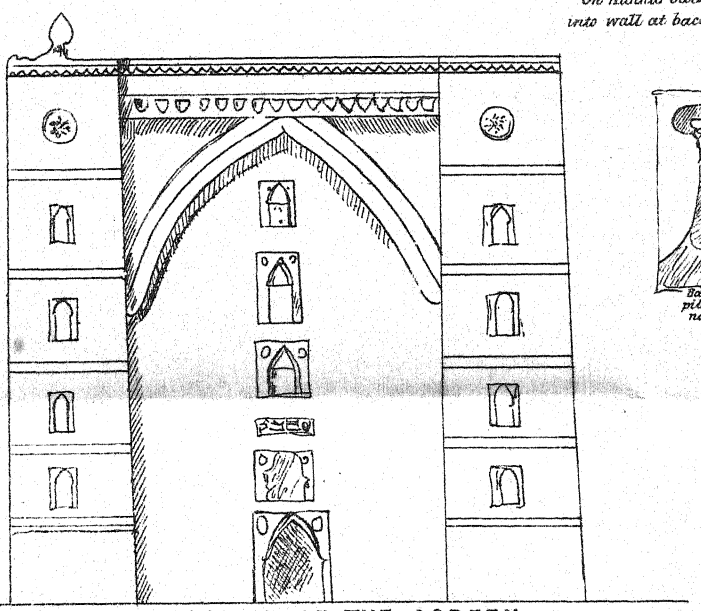




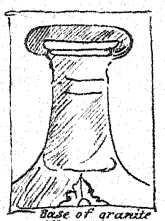
Capital



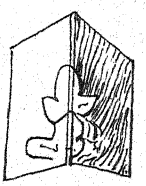
On Kunkur blocks built into wall at back of dome



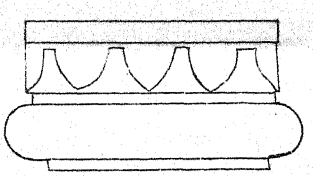
ROUGH ELEVATION OF THE SCREEN
not to scale



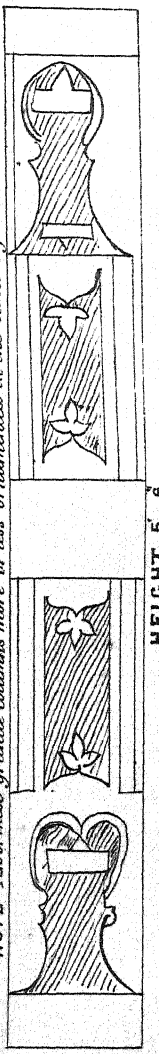
Base of granite pillar at gate not to scale



Ornament at springs of shaft of pillar at the gate.



CAPITAL AT GATE.



HEIGHT 5' 6"

NOTE Two of these granite columns more or less ornamented in the same style

Scale
1 inch = 1 foot

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has been chiselled is used as an architrave in a rude chapel. Others are doubtless plaistered over in the walls.

The screen is 47 feet in height and a little less in width. The general depth of the building, of which a plan to scale is appended, (vide Plate III.) is 20 feet interiorly, the centre portion, on which the Mussulman dome is built, being a few feet more. The block of granite, perhaps 5 feet by $1\frac{1}{4}$, let into the front of the screen—and figured by me—is very curious. It is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and bears the usual Buddhist character of ornamentation as found in this neighbourhood. It at once attracts attention by being altogether out of place. Only one of the "Kangurá" or pinnacles remains in the building, but they doubtless extended across to the screen, the small portions of wall where the plaister has fallen, shew the well known scroll denticulated pattern.

Over the south chapel, right across the centre, has been constructed an arched chamber, 20 feet by 20, and perhaps 18 feet high. The roof of this has been moulded with pieces of nodular kunkur set in lime, which alone appears to keep it together. The effect is most singular; facing as it does to the East, it would seem that originally there had been a cloister, the four rude chapels consisting of 16 pillars each, with a larger chapel in the centre for the image. As, however, the whole was rebuilt by the Mussulmans some 430 to 450 years since, the only archæologcial interest which attaches to the spot is, that it was undoubtedly once a Buddhist site.

In the court-yard, now enclosed by a mean brick wall, is a small chaitya, 9 feet square, covering a Mussulman tomb, where four plain pillars support a flat roof with eave-stones of red sandstone projecting 2 feet on each side. The stones composing this evidently came from Agra from the same quarries* which furnished the Rajá's Secundra gardens. I have drawn one of the capitals which is of the old pattern, somewhat altered.

On the road between Etawah and Mynpoorie, several villages built on high "kheras" or mounds attracted my notice. I hope to explore them and send you the results, if any there be.

* Tautpur Village, Sahender Pergunnah, Agra Zillah.

Translation of an Inscription copied in the temple of Nakhon Vat or the City of Monasteries, near the capital of ancient Kambodia. —*By Dr.* A. Bastian.

[Received 16th January, 1867.]

The magnificent monuments of Kambodia give testimony of a bygone civilisation, whose origin remains shrouded in mystery. Their history will be read by the stone-sculptures which cover the walls and portray the nations anciently inhabiting the country, their costumes, manners and customs. There is, besides, scattered over the ruins, a not inconsiderable number of inscriptions to be found, which are written in an antiquated kind of Pali character, and, when deciphered, may assist to obtain the right clue. The following inscription is a more modern one in Kambodian letters, and was copied inside the great temple at Nakhon Vat.

Sapphamasadu: Glory to the holy ones. In the year, which counts 1623 in the era, the year of the dragon, the third month, on a Thursday, in concordance with the Gatha, which are written in Pali, in the metrum of Phrohma-Kit, on the Phra-Phuttha Rub (the statue of Buddha,) I humbly offer up flowers to Bhagavat, who sits in meditation to observe the precepts (Sila), in the reflecting posture and undisturbed by the attacks of man (Mara or Satan), on the handsome seat of the Lotus (Phuttang). I offer up to the Pharabat (the holy footstep) of highest excellence. I bend down and raise hands in supplication at the feet of the Lord. I worship in my mind the three jewels (Ratana-trai), laying down flowers and areca on the throne-seat (banlang), which, elegantly ornamented by sculptures, is overhung in fourteen folds with the Baldachin of four kinds of clothes, beautiful all over in perfection, and the whole shining in brilliant splendour, as a cover of Phra-Photisat (the holy Bodhisatwa), who sits motionless in the posture of continual meditation. I present offerings to Sakhya-Muni, the Lord of glory, who has preached the true law for guiding all beings on the heavenly road. I do homage under the holy footstep. I worship and adore, raising the hands in supplication before the Lords of religion, the five Buddhas, the three gems: in humble piety I invoke them, devoutly I pray. I offer myself in holy love, never forgetting. I fix my mind, the whole of my mind and soul, on

the Phra-Chedi (the holy Chaitya or Pagoda) Chulamani* (the precious diadem of hair) in Traidungsa (Daodungsa or the heaven of setting stars), encircled by the shephada (Devada), whom I reverentially bear on my head. I offer up and bow down before (the figure of) Phra-Patima in his golden abode, the Lord of the three praises, the refuge of all beings. I present offerings to the Phra-Phuttha Rub in the Phra-Sathub (Dagoba) of the Phra-Chedi (Pagoda), the Prasat (palace) of the Vihan (monastery). I present myself in offerings of humble service,—I present myself wholly and entirely.

Having done worshipping, having finished the offerings, I pray to become perfect in wisdom, to know all kinds of sciences without error and mistake, after having been born in the next existence for seven years. When I shall have accomplished all knowledge of letters, I pray that I may become well versed in the Trai-Pidok, that I may be able to answer every one's questions, to solve all riddles proposed, that I may know the Trai-Phet (three Vedas) and the Sinlaprasta (the magic of the stones). May I be blessed to meet Pra Sijahn (Sri-Ariya or Arimathiya, the future Buddha) in the next existence. May I be surrounded by numberless attendants; if 11,110 follow, it will be enough. May I be so shiningly beautiful, as to move all hearts, like those women, who having taken holy orders, shall be reborn relucent of radiant beauty, in recompense for their pious deeds, and by virtue thereof. May I become great and mighty, of such power, that even Phra-Phrohm (Brahma) could never put any obstacles in my way. And when the circle of transmigrations leads me to be reborn again in a new existence, I pray, that I may become Buddha, and attain the holy law, pervading all existence,—that I may become equal to the perfected ones in the world.

Now in regard to these people here, who are called respectively Ming, Behn, Sok by their surnames, they desire to become handsome and delicate in figure, of such a shape, as it makes women beloved. This prayer I put in, on behalf of the aforesaid persons of the village Tabungkram. And two of them, Ming and Behn, have still another wish in their heart, namely: to become rich in honours and dignities, beautiful like painted pictures. May they, on leaving the present existence, which is an imperfect and unsatisfactory one to them, may

* Built by Indra over Gautama's hair, which he cut off with his sword.

they hereafter be reborn as brothers, and may the sinful consequences which have separated them, be exhausted, so that they will remain together and united always, and that ultimate death shall take them away simultaneously at one and the same day with their wives. May there be no grief, no sorrow then, as now oppresses them, now in the present existence, when the bones of mother and child are buried under a Phra-Chedi, which is erected above them, as a meritorious work. May mother and child remain united in the next existence.

And furthermore, there is a person here, called Im, who has restored a venerable Phra (idol), which had fallen in ruins, and lay there all cut to pieces. It had broken its neck; its hands and feet were lost. He built it up anew, he mended it, he made it handsome and pretty. It was covered with gold, it was surrounded by other Phra, 137 in number. All these figures, great and small, were clothed in a twofold set of garments; they had their praises written upon them. And after that, meritorious works were performed in the Phra-Chedi, which also had been rebuilt and embellished. For five ordinations the expenses were paid, and a Phra of gold was placed in remembrance. A great deal of money has been expended, the monks have been loaded with presents, a Vihan and a preaching-hall have been adorned, a priest was helped on in his consecrations, a slave was liberated, and all the other works of merits cannot be counted: they are too numerous. How often alms have been given is beyond recollection; times innumerable presents were brought to the priests. And these priests, after having received their presents, have vouchsafed pardon for all faults committed, have promised indemnity from all misfortunes. I pray to the Lord, that happiness may be in store for me, and that in the coming existence I may enjoy my blissful state, without being pestered by people who are envious of it. May I go through the future existences, free of calamities, full of wisdom and knowledge. May no sickness befall me. May I happily live, joined to my wife and my children, and attain a high and serene age, not knowing mishaps. May the evil consequences of former sins not reach me, may I never be oppressed by poverty. May I remain liberated from hell for ever. May my thoughts, now small and narrow, expand in the next existence, that I may understand the precepts

(sila) well and thoroughly, that I may never break them, nor commit trespasses. May wisdom be with me always. May I never be in want of relations; nay, may I be blessed with many of them. May I possess plenty of servants. May no slanders pollute me. May I never do a stupid thing. May I speak kindly and softly to every one I chance to meet. May I be preserved from dealings with fools. May I never be born poor and indigent, but only in rich and noble families. May I well understand my business. May my memory be a good one. May nothing frightful happen to me. May nobody hate me. May the punishments, awaiting for sinful deeds of former vices, not hurt me. In speaking to nobles and monks, may my words be right and proper. Should animals be killed unknowingly, may I be pardoned. May there be an end of grief and sorrow. May I depart life, surrounded by my friends, not abandoned and alone. May the sins I might have committed in the present existence, not call for retribution in the next one. May I never be tempted to treat great men and learned teachers in an insolent and impudent manner. I beg pardon for all errors I might be guilty against the holy priesthood, Phra-Phuttha, Phra-Thamr (Dhamma). I beg pardon for all my faults. I beg pardon for any breach of the precepts. I beg pardon for rudeness and roughness of mind. I beg pardon, if ever I have fostered revenge. I beg pardon for lies I have spoken. May I be prosperous in every existence, and always meet with people of rank and dignity. I beg pardon for all errors, committed in words or in acts. May I be secured against evil and misfortunes in my next existences. May there be no terror, no fear and trembling. May never aristocratic tyrants bully me. May I never be threatened by enemies in any of the existences to come. May I not suffer complaints in the next existence, neither baldness nor elephantiasis. May no sores or ulcers disfigure my body. May I not be ugly. I beg pardon, if I have allowed to be tempted by bad inclinations. May evil never come upon me, neither now nor in future. May I always enjoy handsome women. May nothing bad cross my way. When this existence shall be finished, may there never be any more sorrow, may I roll in undisturbed bliss. May the sinful consequences of former deeds, may the torments threatening therefrom, be delayed and put off. May I be re-born handsome and fine. May I never be imprisoned,

never be bound nor fettered. As it is said in the verses of Phromakut "Hao kha ti di," and in the Pali, raising my hands, I pray for wisdom. I, a person, to whom they have given the name Xai, I pray, that all evils of old and of the past may be finished, that I may be renewed to preach the words of the Lord in the next existence, to lead all beings on the road to Niphan. May I enjoy blessedness countless numbers of years in the existences to come, and then, performing works of merit with virtuous mind, may I attain to Phra-Sian-Metray (Arimathia). May I be pervaded by benevolence all over, may I show a charitable disposition continually, till the beating of the heart shall cease. As long as blood and eyes remain, may I accomplish good works. May I always be of a joyful mind, resembling Phra-Vixa-Thon* (Chea-tor) and always give alms to the Pret (Pretas), feeding them with blood and flesh. May the Shephada Kowand keep account of all the alms I give. May Phrohm likewise see them and be attentive to keep account. May I receive plenty of joy and felicity, in recompense for these alms. May it please one of the Shephadas to throw down a heavenly sword, because I ardently wish to cut my flesh and skin, to give it in alms piecemeal, to feed the Pret, that they may be satiated and get enough of it. May Phra-Phakava (Bhagavat) and Phra Thamr also know about all these virtuous deeds. May I become like Phra Siahn. I present flowers to Bhagavat and worship in offering them. May I know thoroughly all rules and precepts, like the Upaxa (the ordainer of novices). May I become guide to the beings, my contemporaries; may I be a leader to them in the Lord's religion, during my future existence. The present existence is an imperfect one, my frailties cause me to deviate from the road of truth; I pray for greater perfection in the next existence; I pray for wisdom, so as to penetrate all things, so as to surpass all other men; I pray for wisdom sufficient to solve all difficulties, for wisdom, equal to that of Neakkhasen (Nágasena or Nágárjuna), who with ease and without hesitation explained the questions and riddles put to him by Krom-Malin (Milinda). May the good works of former existences help me on to be re-born in a lucky state. May the Shephada come to my assistance and favour me. May I become benevolent, good-natured and liberal, free of avarice,

* Alchymists adore him, as the possessor of the magic stone, consisting of solid mercury, which is supposed to convert base metals into gold.

may I feel disposed to give alms, to do virtuous and meritorious works incessantly. And furthermore I pray particularly to possess that special wisdom vouchsafed to Taminsheah when still in the state of man, that wisdom which enabled him to solve all the problems invented by Nonthea-Sack in Nirupai, when, overcome by the prince of meritorious glory, he was made his slave and inspired by fear, and followed him as his servant. Thus he became the prince Apangtirat; and then a prince called on the Lord Viroxar, who at command received the name of Manang-Taek, because he used coarse and repulsive words, and did not know to speak properly by reason of his having been a garrulous and talkative fellow in one of his former existences. May I obtain a virtuous mind like Phra-Demiah (Temi),* who patiently bore all the trials his father put him to. I pray to obtain wisdom equal to that of Phra-Kala when born as Mahosot, whose wisdom, surpassing the wisdom of everybody else, being equalled by none, overcame Phra-Chulani. May I give alms, rich alms and freely, in the same spirit as Phra-Mund, as Phra Vetsandon and his lady (Nang) Matsi who faithfully followed him, equal to Nang Nontha, being born of the same mothers, children of the same parents in the course of different existences. And with great beauty were they gifted, and boundless knowledge was their share, till they entered heaven, in which I also pray to be received. Separated from my beloved ones in this sad existence, I hopefully wish to remain united to them, when reborn in my next existence, whether as animal or as man. May I always be surrounded by truthful friends. May I always possess my children and relations. May I always see before me those good women, Nang Pus and Nang Behn, and then these men here, Sues and Pho and Im and Png. I wish in my prayers to be endowed with mighty power and authority, to be learned in magic arts, well versed in them like unto Phra Isor, who called back to

* The Buddhists distinguish the lesser existences, 550 in number, from the greater ones, of which they count 50. The former contain the framework of those fables, which in various compilations have travelled far and wide through western nations. Of the greater existences, in which the Bodhisatwa has taken human form, the ten of the Thosse-Xat are especially venerated and the most holy one is the last Tataka, that of Phra Vetsandon, as immediately preceding the incarnation of the Buddha. These ten existences begin with the history of Temi, a pious child, who, when still in the cradle, imposed on himself ascetic penances.

life Nang Phakavadi, reviving her (by the ceremony of Xub).* May my fame spread about in eminent renown like that of Phra Noray (Náráyana or Vishṇu), who, coming down from heaven (ravan), was born in the state of man as Phra-Ram (Ráma) and subjected the Sack (Rakshasa) of Langká, walking through the air like Phra Tsun in Kailása. And then I wish to become a king and to get crowned, and to have nine handsome ladies as queens on my side, and to reign one hundred thousand years. And furthermore I pray for great strength and for beauty like that possessed by Phra Chan (Chandra or the moon) in times of old. May I possess prowess and a valiant heart, like Phra-Ram, the celestial one. I pray for wisdom to understand the Sinlaprasat, to know the whole of the military arts and warlike exercises like the exalted Phra-Ram, to be expert like him in archery. When this existence will be finished, may I be re-born the son of a king. May I ascend to heaven like Phra Ketsamalea,† May I be favoured by Phra-Ta (Tadra). May he give orders to Phra-Phutsakam (Visvakarma) to build for me also a royal residence of unparalleled splendour on the edges of the forest. May my voice be a melodious one like that of the bird Karavek. May my wisdom expand. May I know all things and everything. May I become rich in silver and gold, in gems and precious stones. May I have abundance in clothes, in carpets, in pillows and dresses. May my retinue be formed by handsome ladies, graceful in figure and soft and delicate of colour, with legs of the shape of the Talaket flower. May I understand the whole sense of the Trai Pidock.‡ May I, always revelling in favourable breezes, in the twinkling of the eye, hit the right to be safe. May I never lose my knowledge, should even my body shuddering tremble in fear. May my friends be one hundred one thousand in

* The magic art of Xub, which revives by sprinkling with enchanted water, is taught in the high academy of Takkasila (Taxasila); and it is an always recurring trait in the Indo-chinese romances, that young princes or the sons of wealthy Sethi travel to that famous city, to pass there some years as students. Another, but more dangerous method, in which fire takes the place of water, is known to the Rasi or Rischi, the hermits of the forest. The last king of Nokhon Tom, whom they offered to cure of leprosy, lost his life during the process.

† Phra-Ketsamalea (the head crowned with garlands) is the reputed founder of the splendid temple of Nakhon Vat. The legend makes him to be a son of Indra, and relates that his heavenly father sent Visacarma, the architect of the gods, to build on earth a palace after the model of that in which the angels pass their joyful lives.

‡ The Buddhistic Scriptures are contained in the three parts of the Pitaka, the Abhidhamma, the Vinaya and the Sútra.

number. May I remain undisturbed in unceasing bliss. May youths, male and female, of handsome appearance, attend on me, 100,000 in number, singing melodiously in sweet voices. May I possess wealth in elephants, horses, buffaloes and oxen of the best kind, elegant carriages and swift boats, to use them in going abroad. I would be pleased if each of my followers carried a glittering sword, and, when they close up in procession, they should solemnly walk like Putpala. Thus it is becoming. May I be favoured with magnificent palaces, nine of them, all covered with gold. Let them have high towering spires* rising above, glittering with jewels; let them be surrounded by colonnades, winding in three circles; let them be engraved everywhere with sculptures. On each gate have placed the Dragon king (Phaya Nokh),—place him on each step of the stairs to guard them. There must be adjoined three dwelling-houses, handsomely and finely got up. The roof must ascend in three terraces, above each other, and all embellished with splendid ornaments. The round houses also may shine in splendid ornaments. A stable for elephants has to be built, nice and clean. Let there be halls on both sides of the lake, one at the right, the other one at the left, and have them decorated with garlands of the Champa-flowers, exhaling a sweet perfume, like the scented powder of Kracheh. That is all.

Literary Intelligence.

Professor J. G. Bühler of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and R. West, Esq. C. S. Acting Judge of Canara, have just brought out the First Book of "a Digest of Hindu Law," from the replies of the Çástris in the several courts of the Bombay Presidency. The volume before us contains a large mass of *responsa prudentum* in a variety of practical cases regarding the Hindu Law of inheritance as current in Bombay. It has been published under the auspices of the Bombay Government, and will prove a useful book of reference to lawyers. In the Introduction the editors have given an interesting account of the ancient Smṛitis.

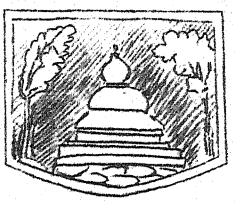
The Government of Bombay has sanctioned the publication of an edition of the Ápastamba Dharma Sútra with the Tíká of Hara Datta. The work will be carried through the press under the editorship of Dr. G. Bühler.

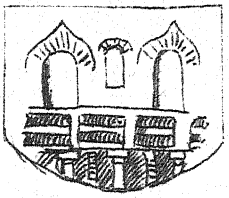
* The description of the wished for palace is taken from the example of that one in which the inscription was hung up, viz. the temple of Nakhon Vat.

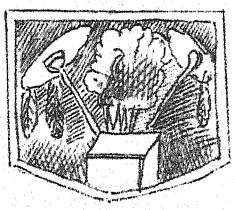
A new translation of the Sakuntalá of Kálídása, by Professor Foucaux of the French Academy, has just been published in Paris. The work has been got up in imitation of Professor Williams's excellent edition of the same work, and is intended to popularise among French readers that master-piece of the Indian Drama.

The publication of the Taittiríya Sañhitá of the Black Yajur Veda has once again been brought to a stop. Dr. Roer, who first undertook this work, left India on account of ill-health after publishing only five fasciculi. On his return to this country, press of official duties prevented his resuming the task, and it was therefore made over to Mr. E. B. Cowell. That gentleman succeeded in the course of three years to publish fourteen hundred pages, when ill health obliged him to retire from India. Paṇdita Rámanáráyana Vidyáratna, who succeeded him and brought out the first fasciculus of the 3rd volume, died in May last, after a protracted illness of six months. He was a Sanskrit scholar of a high order, and was earnestly devoted to the ancient literature of his country. He published several Bengali books, and edited, for the Bibliotheca Indica, the Vedánta Sútras with the Commentary of Sañkara, and the Srauta Stúra of Áswaláyana.

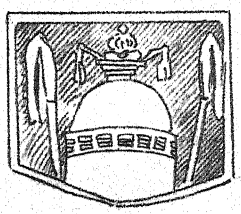
We have to record the death of another Sanskrit scholar of great eminence; Paṇdita Premachandra Tarkavágiça died at Benares on the 14th of April last. He was Professor of Rhetoric in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta for over thirty years, and was esteemed as the most profound scholar of his time. He was the only Bengali Paṇdita who had made the Prákrita language a subject of critical study. Among his works may be noticed the commentary on the great epic of Kavirája, the *Rághava paṇḍaviya*, every verse of which had to be explained so as to form once a history of the race of Raghu and once that of the Páṇḍavas. His commentaries on the first half of the *Naishada Charita*, and those on the *Sakuṇtalá*, the *Uttararáma Charita*, the *Anargharághava*, the *Cháṭupushpánjali*, the *Mukunda-muktávali*, the *Saptasati-sára*, and the 8th chapter of the *Kumárasambhava* are well known. For the Bibliotheca Indica he edited the *Kávyádarça* of Çrí Ḍandin with an original commentary. He has left unpublished a Sanskrit Dictionary, and four Cantos of a poetical life of Sáliváhana, from whom dates the Çaka era of India.

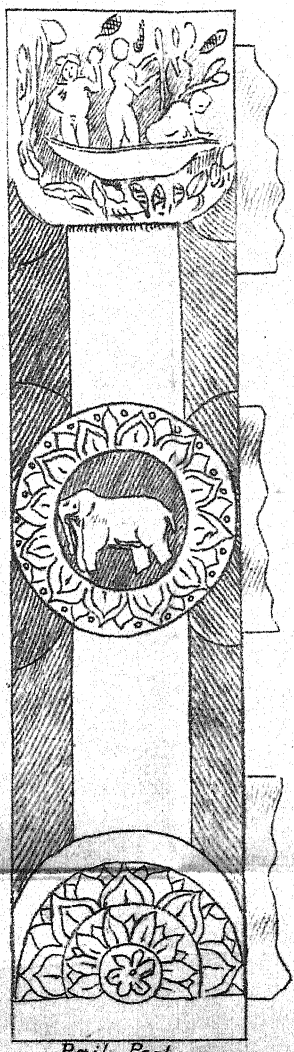


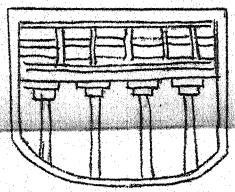




Carvings on tops of rail posts at Buddha Gayá.





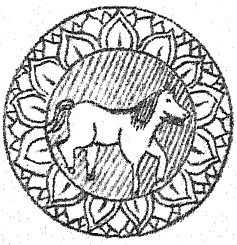
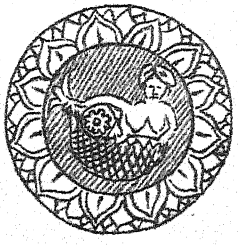
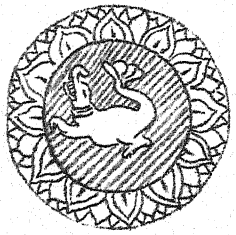


Rail Post

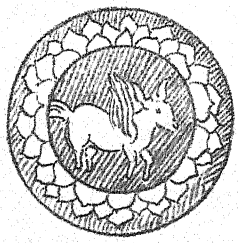
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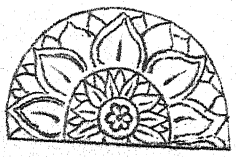
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Carvings on Rail Posts at Buddha Gayá

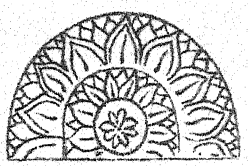




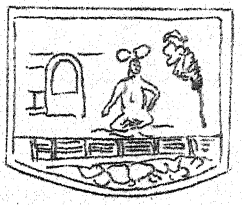
Middle ornaments



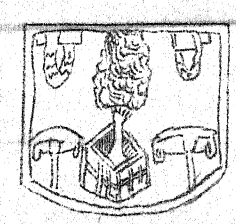
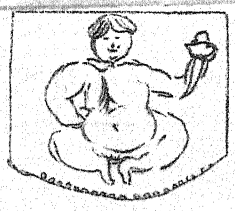


Bottom ornaments





Top ornaments.


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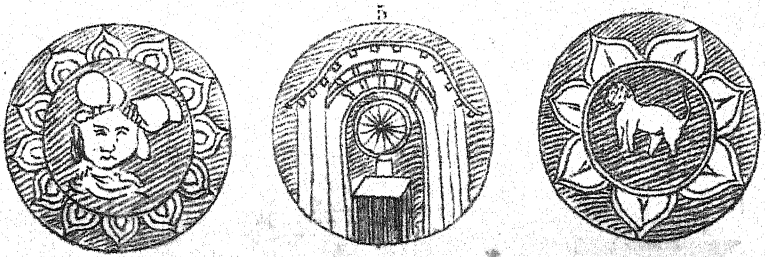
Carvings on rail posts at Buddha Gayá

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Middle ornaments

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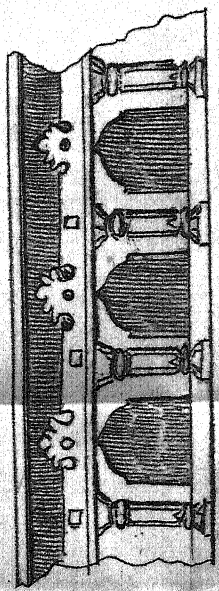


Middle ornaments



Top ornaments







Demon face

Lithographed at the Govt School of Art Calcutta by Ramanand Chuckerbutty Student.

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NOTICE.

Plates referring to this number are unavoidably delayed and will be issued with No. III. of the Journal.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1867.

Notes on Sirájuddaulah and the town of Murshidábád, taken from a Persian Manuscript of the Tárikh i Mançúrí.—*By* H. BLOCHMANN, *Esq.*, *M. A.*

[Received 21st December, 1866.]

About two months ago, a copy of the above work was forwarded to me for examination by the Philological Committee of our Society. The book had only lately been handed over to the Rev. James Long by the Nawáb Názir Sayyidí Dárab 'Alí Khán Bahádur of Murshidábád, for transmission to the Asiatic Society in London. The author is a Shí'ah of the name of Sayyid 'Alí, a friend of the Nawáb Názir, and evidently a man of erudition. He seems also to have received some support and encouragement from Major G. Hall Macgrigor, C. B., political agent at Murshidábád in 1842.

The book is dedicated to the Nawáb Sayyid Mançúr 'Alí Khán Bahádur Nuçrat Jang with the following remark:

و این هدیهٔ محقّر که از قبیل هدیه آوردن مور است پای ملخی نزد سلیمان علیه السلام و تحفه آوردن سحاب است قطرهٔ را بسوی عمان لیکن توقّع کوچکان دل‌غمگین از زینت‌دهندگان تاج و نگین چنین بوده و می باشد که در معرض قبول در آورند * شعر *

نملة جاءت برجّل من جراد تو سلیماني کن اي والا نژاد *

فان تشرّف بشرف القبول فهو غاية المنى و نهاية المامول * و این کتاب موسوم شد بتاریخ منصوري *

"Although this contemptible gift resembles the present of the ant that brought the leg of a locust to Sulaiman (blessings be upon him!), or the drop of water which a cloud carried towards the ocean of 'Omán—yet insignificant people in their heart's anguish have hoped, and hope still, that it will find a place of acceptance with those who shed their lustre over sceptre and crown.

It's but a locust's leg which I can bring,
O act like Sulaiman, most noble king!
My only object and my highest aim
Is that this gift may your acceptance claim.

I have given to this book the title of *Táríkh i Mançúrí*."

The book itself is a compilation made from Farishtah, the Siyar i Mutaakharín, the Riyász ussalátín, &c., but it contains also some original matter obtained from the inhabitants of Murshidábád. I have extracted the greater part, at least the more important items, of that which is new, and have added some extracts regarding the celebration of the Muharram in Murshidábád and a short description of the raft of Khiszr.

As the author has used Vansittart's memoirs for the events after the death of Sirájuddaulah, it would be useless to give extracts. Nor are the other chapters of the book of much interest. The author commences with Noah and the kings of the descendants of Hám, from whom the Hindoos originated, and then gives a short account of the kings of Delhi. A short geographical sketch of Bengal, Bahár and Orissa follows, as also a chronicle of Murshidábád. After mentioning the Hindoo princes who reigned in Bengal, he gives a brief history of the Governors and Nawábs of Bengal up to Sirájuddaulah. The last chapters contain a list of the Nawáb Názims from Mír Muhammad Ja'far to the present time, and of their children and servants; a description of their palace and the houses which they built, and of those which are now in ruins from want of repairs; and also some notes regarding their genealogy which is traced to Husain—subjects of interest for the Nawábs only.

Those who feel a particular interest in the following extracts, may compare them with Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British, Vol. II, p. 139, Mill's British India (3rd edit.) Vol. III, p. 160, and Thornton's British India, Vol. I, p. 218.

In the beginning of 1757, Colonel Clive wrote a letter to Sirájuddaulah complaining of the Nawáb's duplicity in still favouring the French, intimating at the same time his design of attacking Chandernagore. On the 10th March, Sirájuddaulah sent an answer, stating that he was sorry to hear complaints. Without alluding to Clive's intention of attacking Chandernagore, he advised him to do whatever he thought best. The author says:

و کرنیل آنرا محمول بر صدور اِجازت محاربه با فرانسیسان کرده فوج خود براه خشکي بر چندن‌نگر مامور کرد و اڈمرل واٹسن هم جهازات خود را بر حوالیٔ قصبهٔ مذکور لنگر کرد * و اگرچه درین معرکه کرنیل کلیف کاري خالي از شجاعت نکرد لیکن چون تسخیر این قصبه بهمه جهت موقوف بر فوج بحري و جهازات بود گورنر چندن‌نگر راه آمد و رفت جهازات تا قصبهٔ مذکور بغرق نمودن مراکب بر سر راه مسدود نموده بود و فقط یك کوچهٔ تنگ گذاشته که بر هیچکس بجز بعضی از سرداران فرانسیس آن راه معلوم و منکشف نبود * ازین سبب تسخیر آن قصبه عسیر و متعذّر می نمود * چون درین عرصه کوکب طالع انگریزان رو بطلوع داشت و بخت نارسای فرانسیسان بهبوط گرائیده خود بخود عقدهٔ ما لا ینحلّ از دست تدبیر انگریزان کشوده شد و الّا در پیچ تسخیر این قصبه کرنیل کلیف را آنقدر کوشش و محنت در سر افتاده بود که از ابتداي اِقتدار انگریزان تا آن زمان همچو صورت در هندوستان واقع نشده بود * مفصّل این مجمل آنکه مستر ترانیو نامی یکي از افسران افواج فرانسیس که محرم این راز سربسته بود بسببی از اسباب ظاهري از مستر وٹس گورنر چندن‌نگر ناراض گردید و پاس حقّ نمك و حمیّت قوم خود گذاشته نزد کرنیل کلیف رفت و ازین راز آگاه ساخت و کرنیل کلیف با اڈمرل واٹسن جمعیّت جهازات بهمان راه مخفي زیر چندن‌نگر رسانید و در عرصهٔ نه روز محاربهٔ توپ و تفنگ داشته آنرا مسخّر کرد * و کوٹهیٔ فرانسیس را که در قاسم بازار بود انگریزان غارت کرده بتصرّف خود آوردند * و مستر ترانیو باین غدر و خیانت بدنام و روسیاه گردید و عوض این کورنمکی با ولیٔ نعمت بجهازات خیر طلبیٔ انگریزان تموّل کثیر حاصل نموده چیزي از زر که حاصل کرده براي پدر خود که پیر فرتوت و در وطن خودش مرده بنام زنده بود فرستاد * پدرش بر حرکت شنیع پسر ناخلف نفرین نموده نذرش قبول نکرد و واپس فرستاد *

مستر ترانیو ازین سخت متأثر گردیده آنقدر شرم دامنش گرفت که بعد ازان بکسی روي خود نه نمود * و بعد چند روز جسد او در پارچهٔ دستمالي بر دروازهاش آویزان یافتند * معلوم شد که خود را خفه کرده هلاک ساخت * القصّه چون فرانسیسان از چندن نگر اخراج یافتند باقي‌ماندگان که سر آنها مستر لا مشتهر بموشیر لاس بود بمرشدآباد آمده ملازم نوّاب سراج الدوله شد و فوجي از پیادگان مشهور به تلنگه از طرف نوّاب آراسته وتیار کرده درین معني انگریزان دعوی کردند که حسب مصالحهٔ واقع مابین مایان ونوّاب دوست و دشمن هریکي دوست و دشمن دیگری است *

"Col. Clive, taking this as a permission to attack the French, moved his land-army to Chandernagore, while Admiral Watson sailed with his ships to the same place. Col. Clive shewed great energy. But as the French Governor saw that the complete subjugation of the place would depend upon the operations of the navy, he caused a number of ships to be sunk in the river, with the view of impeding the progress of the Admiral, leaving a small passage only unobstructed. With the exception of a few French officers, no one knew that such a passage existed. But as the star of the English was in the ascendant, and the unavailing fortunes of the French were beginning to set, the complicated knot unravelled itself in the hands of the English. But if Fortune had not favoured the English, not even exertions such as had never been witnessed as yet in India, would have enabled Col. Clive to take possession of Chandernagore. A French officer, of the name of Terraneau, who knew the secret of the passage left in the river, was for some reasons dissatisfied with M. Renault, the then Governor of Chandernagore. Forgetting the obligations under which he lay to his own nation, he went to Col. Clive and informed him of the existence of the passage. Col. Clive and Admiral Watson were thus* enabled to bring the ships safely before Chandernagore, and took it after a bombardment of nine days.

* This would materially alter the eulogium of the following passage taken from Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive, Vol. I, p. 192, "Few naval engagements have excited more admiration, and even at the present time, when the river is so much better known, the success with which the largest vessels of this fleet were navigated to Chandernagore, and laid alongside the batteries of that settlement, is a subject of *wonder*."

"The French factory in Qásimbázár was, immediately after, taken and plundered.

"Mr. Terraneau, who in consequence of this treachery became infamous and 'blackfaced,' received from the English a large sum as a reward for his ingratitude. He sent a part of the money home to his old and infirm father, who however returned it, when he heard the disgraceful behaviour of his son. Mr. Terraneau felt much mortified at this. Shame 'seized the hem of his garment,' he shut himself up; after a few days his body was found hanging, at the gate of his house, suspended by means of a towel. It was plain that he had committed suicide.

"The French being driven away from Chandernagore, took refuge in Murshidábád. Monsieur Las,* their leader, became an attendant at the Court of the Nawáb, for whom he fitted out a detachment known by the name of Telinga. To this the English objected, declaring that according to his agreement, the Nawáb was to consider their enemies as his."

A long correspondence ensued, as the Nawáb maintained, that there was no breach of faith in employing a few fugitives as attendants. At last some of the enemies of M. Las gained the day, and the Nawáb advised him to go to 'Azímábád and hold himself ready there, should he want him. M. Las objected to this, trying to convince the Nawáb, that after his departure certain false courtiers would call in the English; but in vain. The Nawáb again promised to call him in case of need, hoping that he would be ready to come at his call. M. Las considering a future meeting impossible, went at last of his own free will to 'Azímábád. "Col. Clive was thus successful in this affair also."

It was at this time, says the author, that Col. Clive urged the Nawáb, to permit the English to build a Fort and to establish a mint, projects which they had desired to carry out for the last sixty years. Without recording a formal permission, he states, that the present Fort William was commenced by Clive in the course of the same year (1757), and that 20 millions of rupees were expended in its construction. The author says—

* In all English histories of India known to me, his name is misspelt Mr. Law. The transliteration of Monsieur, موشير Moosheer, is characteristic.

کرنیل کلیف فورا بتعمیر فورت ولیم که الحال موجود است در شهور سنهٔ یک هزار و هفصد و پنجاه و هفت شروع نمود و بصرف مبلغ بیست هزار هزار که باصطلاح اهل هند دو کرور روپیه باشد این قلعه آنچنان تعمیر نمود که بدانست این قوم تسخیر آن اگر تمام هندوستان یکجا شود محال است *

"Clive built Fort William in such a manner that, according to the opinion of the English, it would be impossible to take it, even if the whole of Hindústán united should fight against it." Regarding the mint, he says—

و اوّل سکّهٔ انگریزان در هندوستان بتاریخ نوزدهم آگشت سنهٔ یك هزار و هفصد و پنجاه و هفت زده شد * و اگر این سکه بنام بادشاه هندوستان زدند لیکن طرح جدید از تیاریٔ آن بر قالب یادگاري از انگریزان است * و شاید در ابتدا حسب رواج هندوستان بدون قالب تیار کرده باشند مگر صورتهاي سکّه به تمادیٔ ایّام انقلاب پذیرفت و حالا سکهٔ بادشاه خود ولیم چهارم بنقش صورتش زدند * در دار الضرب آنها سکهٔ شاه عالم بادشاه بی دست و پاي هندوستان جاري ماند *

"The first English coin was struck on the 19th August, 1757. Although the coins were struck in the name of the Emperor of Hindústán, a new method of preparing them, by means of a mould, reminded people of the English. It may be that the coins were at first struck without a mould, according to the custom of the land,* but a change took place in the course of time. Now they have struck coins with the likeness of their own King, William IV. But coins continued long to be issued at their mint in the name of Sháh 'Alam, the Indian Emperor 'without hand and foot.'"

The events before and after the battle of Plassey are described as follows:

A few letters written by Sirájuddaulah to M. Bussy, in the Dekhan, had been intercepted by the English, and Sirájuddaulah was openly accused of breach of faith. "The wrath of the Nawáb at the crooked dealings and slow but steady advance of these foreigners increased daily." Mr. Watts, the English resident at Murshidábád, was threatened. The Nawáb went so far, as to tear up before him

* V. Aín i Akbarí, the 8th Aín.

a letter, which Col. Clive had written to him. Soon after, however, from fear of his false courtiers and want of confidence in his own army, he tried to pacify Mr. Watts by a khil'at, and wrote an excuse to Clive. But the Colonel had already determined to commence hostilities, and readily joined a conspiracy headed by Mír Muhammad Ja'far to dethrone Sirájuddaulah. According to the author, the conspiracy was planned by Mír Muhammad Ja'far, Amín Chand Raura* and Khwájah Vazier, but according to the Siyar ul Mutaakharín by Mír Muhammad Ja'far, Rájah Dúlabh Rám and Jagat Séth, who had each their representatives in Calcutta, Amín Chand being merely Ja'far's vakeel. Khéthí Begum, a daughter of Mahábat Jang likewise assisted Mír Muhammad Ja'far. Clive treated with the conspirators through Mr. Watts.

The author then gives a description of Clive's double-dealings with Amín Chand, as given in all histories of Bengal.

Early in June 1757 Clive left Calcutta, reached on the 17th the small town of Katwa, south of Plassey, and took possession of the fort of that place. But neither did Mír Muhammad Ja'far join him, as he expected, nor did Clive receive even a line from the conspirators. Doubtful what to do, he wrote to the Council at Calcutta, who advised him to return. But Clive preferred to march on. On the 21st June, 4 o'clock P. M. he left Katwa, crossed the Hooghly and pitched his tents, on the morning of the 23rd, in the fields of Plassey. The Nawáb's army was now in sight. Mír Muhammad Ja'far still remained silent. A cannonade commenced. The English attacked the tents of Sirájuddaulah, but were vigorously opposed by Mír Madan,† one of the Nawáb's faithful amírs. About 12 o'clock Mír Madan was struck by a cannon ball and carried to Sirájuddaulah's tent, where he died. The fighting was however continued, Jarnélí‡ Mohun Lál having taken Mír Madan's place. But nothing decisive was done. Afraid of a conspiracy, Sirájuddaulah sent for Ja'far, who had not taken any part in the fight. After the most earnest solicitations on the part of the Nawáb, Ja'far promised to fight the next

* Generally called Omichund.

† Called Moodeem Khan in Thornton, Vol. I. p. 240 and Moodeen Khan at p. 242.

‡ Jarnélí (*i. e.* general) was a name given to him.

day, on condition that Mohun Lál should be at once ordered to withdraw from the fight. Sirájuddaulah agreed, and Mohun Lál returned to his tents. But no sooner did the troops see that their general had left the field, than they became hopeless and began to flee. Before evening the army of the Nawáb had dispersed. "This is the battle, in which India was lost for the Islám." Before the battle commenced, Amín Chand appears to have informed Clive, that there would be a show of resistance merely. Hence, when Clive saw the determined fighting under Mír Madan and Mohun Lál, he was annoyed and accused Amín Chand of treachery, but had to accept the excuse, that neither Mír Madan nor Mohun Lál belonged to the conspiracy. Sirájuddaulah seeing his army dispersed, mounted a swift camel (جمّازه), and after travelling the whole night, accompanied by 2000 horsemen, reached Murshidábád at 8 o'clock A. M. the next morning (24th June, 1757). He called his chief officers, but all refused to come, even his father-in-law. The state of things being altered, he did not think it advisable to remain in Murshidábád. Having placed a few faithful servants on carriages, he collected as much gold and as many jewels as he could, and left Murshidábád at 3 o'clock A. M. At Bhagwángólá he took boats and sailed up the river towards Rájmahal, where he was to meet M. Las. The meeting was, however, not to take place, for M. Las had been delayed through a want of punctuality on the part of his native servants, "a misfortune frequently experienced in Hindústán."

القصّه چون سراج الدوله از بهگوان گوله براه دریا روانه شده در راج‌محل رسید آنجا بسبب اضطراب اطفال و زن خود که بسبب جوع داشتند بذات خود از کشتي فرود آمده بفکر بهم رسانیدن طعام افتاد و در تکیهٔ فقیري رسیده ازو درین باب اعانت خواست * از اتفاقات این درویش را سراج الدوله درعهد خود بجرمي آزاري رسانیده و ریش و بروت او را حلق ساخته باستخفاف او کوشیده بود * او کینهٔ دیرینه در دل داشت * سراج الدوله را از وضع او شناخته بظاهر تسلّي و استماله نمود و تیارئ پختن کهچڑي کرده بسرعت تمام رفته ازین حال بحاکم راج محل خبر داد * و درانجا میر محمّد قاسم خان خویش میر محمّد جعفر خان در تلاش سراج الدوله رسیده بود ازین واقعه خبر یافته فورا مع جمعیّت خود بر کشتیهاي سراج الدوله رسیده اورا با همراهیانش

گرفتار کرد * و آنچه نقد و جواهرات همراه داشت بقبضهٔ میر محمّد قاسم خان در آمد * و سراج الدوله با همچو مردمان که یك هفته پیش ازان بار سلام او نمی یافتند لجاج و سماج (1) از حد گذرانید که آنچه همراه دارم گرفته از سر من بگذرید که بطرفی آوارهٔ شوم امّا سودی نه بخشید * و اورا گرفته بمرشدآباد آوردند * میرن عرف صادق علي خان پسر میر محمّد جعفر خان خبر ورود سراج الدوله شنیده اورا نزد خود طلبداشته و بجائي تنگ و تاریك مقیّد کرده و از رفقاي خود خواهان قتل او گردید * مگر کسی اقدام باین امر قبیح نکرد * آخر محمّدي بیگ نام شخصي که پروردهٔ نعمت مهابت جنگ جدّش بود وجدّه یا مادرش اورا با دختري که پرورش کرده بود با او عقد مناکحت بسته و بآن سبب عزّتي و منزلتی دیگر داشت از کمال شقاوت مستعد باین امر شنیع شده نزد سراج الدوله آمد * و آن مقیّد بی دست و پا انواع معذرت کرده حقّ پرورش یاد داد * آن شقئ شدید ثانئ یزید مطلق نشنید و بضرب شمشیر کارش تمام ساخت * بعد قتل بحکم میرن نعش اورا بر هودهٔ فیلي انداخته در تمام شهر تشهیر کردند * بعد ازان در خوش باغ که بمغرب از قلعهٔ مرشدآباد آن طرف دریا ست در مقبرهٔ مهابت جنگ مدفون ساختند * و بعد چندي میرزا مهدي علي خان برادر خورد سراج الدوله را بگیر آورده در شگنجه کشیده از جان کشتند و به پهلوي برادرش بخاك سپردند * نظامت سراج الدوله یك سال و چهار ماه بود و قتل او در آخر ماه شوّال سنهٔ یکهزار و یك صد و هفتاد واقع شد *

"When Sirájuddaulah had reached Rájmahal, he left the ship, as his wife and children were starving. With the view of procuring food, he entered the hut of a faqeer and asked him for assistance. It happened that Sirájuddaulah had inflicted some time ago a punishment upon this very dervish on account of some crime, and had besides disgraced him by having given the order to shave off his beard and mustachios. The dervish hated him still, and having recognized the Nawáb by his manners, feigned compassion and tried to soothe him. After making preparations to cook some khicharí

(1) This should be سماجت. The writer wished, however, to have a rhyme for لجاج. The meaning of سماجت in *Hind.*, is adulation, humiliation.—The phrase میرن عرف الخ in the next sentence is not Persian either.

for him, the dervish ran to the Governor of Rajmahal and gave information. In the mean time Mír Muhammad Qásim Khán, a relation of Mír Muhammad Ja'far, had arrived in search of Sirájuddaulah, and having obtained the desired information, seized with the aid of his men the boats of the fugitive and captured Sirájuddaulah with his companions. All the jewels and the money fell into his hands. Thus was Sirájuddaulah in the power of men, to whom, a week ago, he might have refused admission. He conjured them to take all he had, but to spare his life and let him escape. But in vain. On his arrival as a prisoner in Murshidábád, Míran, known as Sádiq 'Alí Khán, the son of Mír Muhammad Ja'far, gave orders, that he should be brought before him, and confined him in a dark and narrow room of the palace. Míran desired his companions to kill him, but no one came forward to do the black deed. At last a man was found of the name of Muhammadí Bég, who had been under obligations to Mahábat Jang, the Nawáb's grandfather, and had married a woman, whom either the grandmother or the mother of Sirájuddaulah had brought up. In consequence of this marriage he held an honorable position. When this man came to Sirájuddaulah's room, the wretched prisoner made all sorts of excuses, and reminded him of the obligations under which he lay. But the cruel wretch, the second Yazíd, would not listen, struck him with the sword and killed him."

"By Míran's order the body was thrown on an elephant and carried about openly throughout the whole town, but was afterwards buried in the grave of Mahábat Jang in Khushbágh, west of the palace of Murshidábád, near the river. Some time afterwards Mahdí Alí Khán, Sirájuddaulah's younger brother, was captured and tortured to death. He lies buried by the side of his brother.

"Sirájuddaulah had reigned for one year and four months, and was killed in the end of the month of Shawwal 1170 A. H."

Regarding the installation of Mír Ja'far the author says—

و کرنیل کلیف مظفّر و منصور گردیده با میرمحمّد جعفر ملاقات نمود
و از طرفین رسم مبارکباد ادا شد و با همدیگر روانه شده داخل مرشدآباد شد
و میر محمّد جعفر بقصر امارت رسیده جملهٔ سرداران شهر و اهلکاران ریاست
را جمع نموده درباري قرار داد و کرنیل کلیف درهمان دربار برخاسته و دست

میر محمّد جعفر گرفته بر مسند ریاست نشانید و شلك سلامیٔ اتواب بابت تعلّقِ صوبجات ثلثهٔ بنگاله و بهار و اوڈیسه بمیر محمّدجعفر سر شد * بعد ازان خود میر محمّد جعفر بهمراهیٔ کرنیل کلیف و بعضی دیگر از انگریزان و رام چند دیوان و نب کشن منشیٔ کرنیل کلیف در خزانه رفته عرض خزانه گزفتند * مجموع زر نقد از اشرفی و روپیه چیزی زاید از دو کرور یافتند * و مشهور است که ورای این خزانهٔ دیگر در محل سراها بود که آنرا میر محمّد جعفر از کرنیل کلیف بسازشِ دیوان و منشیٔ او مخفی داشت و آنچا از جنسِ طلا و نقرهٔ آلات و جواهرات کم از هشت کرور نبود که آنرا میر محمّد جعفر و امیر بیگ و رام چند و نب کشن باهم تقسیم کردند * و این امر چندان بعید از قیاس نیست چراکه رام چند و نب کشن که دران زمانه زاید از شصت شصت روپیه ماهوار نمی یافتند رام چند که بعد از ده سال ازین معامله فوت کرد یک کرور و بیست و پنج لك روپیه نقد گذاشت و همچنین نب کشن در همان عرصه نه لك روپیه در مصارفِ موتِ مادرِ خود صرف نموده *

"After the victory Col. Clive met with Mír Muhammad Ja'far. They congratulated each other and went together to Murshidábád. On their arrival at the palace, the nobles of the city and the Government officials were called to a darbár. Col. Clive took Mír Ja'far's hand and led him to the Masnad. At the same time salutes were fired to indicate the transfer of the súbahs of Bengal, Bahár, and Orissa, to Mír Ja'far. After the darbár, the new Nawáb, Col. Clive with a few Englishmen, the Díwán Rám Chand, and Nab Kishn, the Colonel's munshí, inspected the treasury, where a sum of more than 20 millions of rupees, in silver and gold, was found.

"It is also well known that besides this treasury there existed another in the Harem, which fact Mír Muhammad Ja'far concealed from Col. Clive, at the instigation of the díwán and Clive's munshí. The value of the gold and silver articles and of the jewels found there was not less than 80 millions of rupees. The whole was divided among Mír Ja'far, Rám Chand, Amir Bég and Nab Kishn. This transaction is indeed very probable, as Rám Chand left a fortune of 12½ millions of rupees at his death, ten years later; whilst Nab Kishn could afford to pay 900,000 rupees on the occasion of the death

of his mother. Yet both men were in receipt of only 60 rupees per month at the time of the division."

Then follows an account of the money paid to the Company and the troops, as also of the "consideration" paid to the civil authorities and to Col. Clive. The author gives also the agreement made between the English and Mír Muhammad Ja'far, which he confesses to have taken from the memoirs of Nawáb Shams uddaulah, Anglicè Mr. Vansittart. The agreement* is the same as given in "The Treatises, Engagements, Sunnuds. Calcutta 1862, Vol. I, p. 11."

Notes on Murshidábád, &c.

The description given of the town of Murshidabad contains nothing new or interesting. The short history which the author gives, may be found in the Aráish i Mahfil (ed. Lees, p. 114) and in Thornton's Gazetteer of India. But the following extracts are perhaps of interest.

از ابنیهٔ قدیم امامباڑه بوده است از بناهاي نوّاب سراج الدوله بن زین الدین احمد خان هیبت جنگ نودهٔ میرزا بندی علي وردي خان مهابت جنگ که باحتیاط و احترام تمام ساخته و مزدوران مسلمان دران کارخانه بودند وهنود دخل نیافتند * و اوّل روز نوّاب خود بدستِ مبارک خشت و گچ آورد و نهاد و بعد ازان معماران کار کردند * ودرمیانِ امام باڑه که موسوم بمدینه بود قدّ آدم زمین حفر کرده از خاک پاک یعني خاکِ کربلا پر کرده بودند * صاحبِ ریاض السّلاطین مدّاحِ خوبیِ این عمارت است و دیگران هم میگویند*

* Articles 6 and 7 mention compensations payable to Hindoos and 'Muhammadans.' The "*Treatises, Engagements, Sunnuds, Calcutta* 1862" has instead the reading "Gentoos and Musulmans." It appears that the English in India at the time of Sirájuddaulah, used the terms "Moors *and Gentoos* for Muhammadans and Hindus." Even Orme uses these terms, although he objects to them, on the score of their incorrectness, recommending *Musulmans* for *Moors*. Gentoos is Portuguese and the same as Gentiles, heathens. Perhaps it may be of interest to mention here a few other differences in usage. Thus the word *Súbah* was employed for Súbahdár. The word *Himalaya* was unknown and *Indian Caucasus* used instead of it. *Peon* had the meaning of *irregular infantry*. Murshidabad was spelt and pronounced *Muxadavád* (the vulgar still *pronounce it* Mukshidabad or Muksidabad); we find also *Orixa* for Orissa, *Morattoes* for Mahrattas, *Pitan* for Pathan, *phirmaund* for firmán, Scháh for Sháh, *Jehanguír* for Jehangir, *Industán* for Hindustán, *Helebás* for Ilahbás, now called Allahahad, &c. &c. I do not know, whether the word Muxadavad is a corruption of *Makhçúçábád*, the old name of Murshidábád.

هر چار طرف مکانات داشت طرف مشرق که دالان در دالانِ مغرب‌رویه بود دران منبر و چندتا علم و همین مکان برای مجلس مقرّر بود و طرفِ مغرب دالان در دالانِ مشرق رویه دران ضرائح مقدّسه از اقسام یعنی نقرهٔ* و طلائی و شیشهٔ و چوبی و علمهای متعدّد که نوبت بصدها میرسید * قاریانِ کلام اللّٰه در محرّم شب و روز در قرآن خواني مصروف و در غیر ایّام باوقاتِ معیّن * و شمال و جنوبِ دالان در دالان برای کارخانجاتِ روشني و غیره که صدها مزدور برای خبرگیری روشني سامان در دست ایستاده * و بالاخانهٔ این مکانات مملو از تتّیهای ابرکي که در پسِ آن چراغان میشد و هزارها چراغ می سوختند * در تتّي تصاویرِ گلهای اقسام و انسان و حیوان که در وقتِ روشني عجب نمودي † داشت * جهازِ شیشهٔ اقسام در هر دالان بافراط و دیوارگیر و لاله و مردنگي بیرون از قیاس درهر مکان روشن * و در دالانهای شمالی وجنوبی دو دو تصویرِ براق که چهرهٔ انسان و دمِ طاؤس دارند و در ارتفاع دم آنها بسقف میرسد و بجای خالهای دم سپرهای خوش روغن و تشتریٔ چیني و نقرهٔ نصب کرده‌اند وصدها شمشیر و قرولی و پیش‌(۳)قبض‡ مصقّل بعجب نمود و ترکیب در اطرافِ سپرها نصب شده و صدها بتّیٔ موم برای نمود دران تعبیه است *

"Among the old buildings was the Imámbárah built by Sirájuddaulah, the grandson of 'Alí Vardí Khán. It had been built with care and reverence, Muhammadan workmen alone having been employed in the work, and Hindoos excluded. The Nawáb laid the first brick with his own hand and put lime over it, after which the workmen commenced. In the midst of the Imámbárah, a piece of ground, called *Madínah*, was dug, to the depth of a man, which was filled with holy earth *i. e.* earth from Karbalá. The author of the Riyász

* An adjective of نقرهٔ Thus of سرمهٔ چهرهٔ &c. the adjectives are written سرمهٔ چهرهٔ Vullers (Pers. Dict. I. p. 605) spells چهرهٔ without a hamzah, as he does not understand the words of the Bahár i 'Ajam.

† The word is نمود and the ي is the یاي وحدت. Johnson gives a word نمودی *namúdí* which Vullers adopts, p. 1352 of his Dictionary. There is, however, no such word. A similar mistake is the word مشتی given by Vullers, p. 1183. He says the ی is suffix, but it is the یاي وحدت as in برخي and برخ بعضي and بعض

‡ The dictionaries give only پیش‌قبضه.

ussalátín and others have written encomiums on the beauty of this building. On all four sides were rooms. On the east were vestibules lying within other vestibules facing towards the west, with a pulpit, and a place set aside for an assembly room [wherein the elegies on Husain are read]. There were similar vestibules facing towards the east in the western part of the building, in which were nearly a hundred flags and the sacred coffins made of silver, gold, glass and wood. During the Muharram the Qorán was here chaunted day and night, and at fixed times during the other months. North and south of the building were vestibules of the same kind containing out-offices for the illuminations &c., where hundreds of workmen kept themselves in readiness [during the Muharram] to illuminate the place. The verandahs of the second story contained screens of mica, behind which the lamps hung. On the screens themselves were pictures of men and animals and flowers which looked wonderful when illuminated. All kinds of chandeliers, in large numbers, were in the vestibules, as also díwárgírs, lálahs and mardangís.* The whole building was illuminated. In the northern and southern vestibules were two representations of the Buráq [the horse on which the prophet ascended to heaven], each with a human face and a peacock's tail. The length of the tails reached to the roof of the house. Well polished shields and china or silver plates were fitted into the feathers of the tail, to represent the round spots in the feathers of a peacock. Polished swords, Karaulis [a kind of short swords] and daggers were placed round these shields wonderfully arranged, and hundreds of wax candles gave the whole a striking appearance."

This old Imámbárah was burnt to the ground in 1253 A. H. during a grand display of fireworks, "in the twinkling of an eye." A new one was built up, according to the plan of the former and at a cost of six lakhs of rupees, by the Nawáb Mançúr 'Alí. Its date (1264 A. H.) was expressed by the letters of the words روضۂ کربلا (the grove of Karbalá). Whilst the edifice was building, the workmen received

* Our Hindustání Dictionaries do not give these words. Díwárgír or Díwálgír is a lamp resembling our carriage lamps, three sides being made of glass, one of metal. Lálah (pr. tulip) is a lamp with one or more round shades. Mardángí is the Hindustani word for our Argand lamps.

their food in addition to their wages, and also, when the building was finished, a present of a double shawl and a handkerchief. "At that time you could see shawls in every lane of Murshidábád."

Regarding the Muharram festivities the author says:—

در شهر مرشدآباد بفضل الٰهی مذهب اثنا عشری رواج دارد و تعزیه‌داری را اهمّ عبادت میدانند * هیچ خانهٔ نیست که خالی ازین سعادت باشد * اگر محتاج است یک مکان برای این کار علیحده کرده آنرا نذرخانه نام نهاده دو سه چراغ روشن و دو سه علم آراسته ایستاده میکنند * و بوقت معیّن مردم خانهٔ خودش دو سه بند مرثیه و نوحه خوانده و ذکری کرده شیون برپا میدارند * و اگر میانه وضع است دو سه کس از محلّه در خانه‌اش آمده شریک عزاداری می شوند * و اگر صاحب استطاعت است تعزیه‌داری به نمود میکنند که دو یك مرثیه خوان هم مقرّر مینمایند * و اگر صاحب مقدور است ازین هم ترقّی میکنند یعنی تقسیم شیرینی و شربت و چیزهای دیگر مثل دهنیه و بن که قهوه و کشنیز بریان باشد * در هر محلّه همین حال است شب و روز جمیع مردمان این شهر مصروف باین کار خیر اند * و در دیورهیات ناظم و اقارب مع شی زاید است که چند جوز مرثیه‌خوان و روضه‌خوان و بندخوان وخطبه‌خوان و واقعه خوان ملازم اند *

"As in Murshidábád the Shí'ahs are, by the blessing of God, the reigning sect, the mourning for Husain and the making of ta'ziahs form a most important part of the divine worship. No house is destitute of this spiritual blessing. If a man is poor, he will put a few lamps in a separate part of his hut, called the place of vows, and put up some flags. At a fixed time the women and children of the house chaunt a few couplets of elegies and mourning hymns, say a prayer and then perform the *Shéwan* [*i. e.* they weep for Husain and beat their heads and breasts].

"If a man is of the middle class, he joins with two or three of his neighbours. They perform the ta'ziah in common. If a man is well to do, the mourning ceremonies are performed on a grander scale, and a few "reciters" are appointed. Very rich people go still further and distribute sweetmeats, sherbat, coffee berries and roasted coriander-seeds. So in every quarter of the town. Night and day people are

engaged in these works of charity. At the "thresholds" of the Názim and his relations, there is something more. They have among their attendants reciters of elegies, describers of the grave of Husain, couplet singers, Khutbah readers and historians."

The imámbárah presents a grand spectacle during the Muharram. Food is daily distributed to the believers. In the evening there are fireworks and illuminations. On one day the Nawáb also comes. After alighting from his palki at the southern gate, he is conducted inside, and takes his seat on a black carpet, over which a white embroidered coverlet is spread; for a black carpet is used on this particular occasion instead of a bolster. Elegies are again recited, after which sherbat and spices are handed round. Thousands of people are admitted, but only such as come with either a turban or a pagrí.*

و علاوه برین مرثیه خوانان بنگالی که بهتّیال میخوانند و اینها جوق جوق و گروه گروه در امام بارّه و اطراف آن نشسته هر گروهي کم از پانزده بیست نفر نیستند * یکی ازانها که حروف آشنا میباشد مرثیه را در حروف بنگله نوشته در دست دارد * یك مصرع را میخواند و دیگران تبعیت او کرده درصدا شریك می‌شوند * و بعد اختتام هر مصرع لفظ هی میگویند و هر دو دست بر سینه بعد ازان بر رانها و بعضی پا هم بر زمین میزنند که عجب صدای ملال‌انگیز ازان حرکت ظاهر مي شود * و در محلّ بیگمات هم چند گروه ازینها مقرّر مي شوند و تا ده روز محرّم همین طور خوانندگي میکنند * وبروز برداشتن علم همین‌سان در راه خوانده میروند * و بتاریخ ششم محرّم که شب هفتم باشد مهدیٔ † حضرت قاسم علیه‌السلام از نظامت و دیوزهیات بر میدارند و در امام‌بارّهٔ کلان مي برند * آرایش و روشني علی الحساب و جلوس سپاهیان و ترک سواران بتکلّف تمام پیش پیش مي باشد * و حضور با ملازمین مرثیه سماعت فرموده همراه تشریف مي برند * و بتاریخ هفتم امام بارّهٔ کلان زنانه مي شود و بیگمات تشریف مي آرند و نواب ناظم را زنجیر و طوق حسب معمول و مرسوم مي پوشانند * و باین تقریب زنان صدها شرفا و محتاجین بفیض

* In the original عمامه یا دستار

† So according to the MS. But the author means the Hindustani مینهدي I may remark here that the Arabic مهدي [the name of the 12th imám] is pronounced مینهدي all overBengal,especially in proper nouns as غلام مهدی &c.

میرسند که بیگمات هزارها روپیه بطریق نذر و نیاز عنایت مي فرمایند * و بتاریخ هشتم علم از دیوڑهیات برداشته در امامباڑه مي آرند و جناب عالی پا برهنه و پیاده همراه اعلام بتانّي و تامّل و اعزاز و احترام راه میروند و مرثیه سماعت مي فرمایند و اشک علی‌التواتر از چشم مبارک جاریست * و بتاریخ دهم که یوم عاشوراست قبل از برآمدن آفتاب علم و ضرائح را برمیدارند و بامانی‌گنج که مدفن‌گاه ضرائح است و سمت جنوب بفاصلهٔ قریب دو کروه یا کم ازان از قلعهٔ مبارک واقع است میروند * و حضور خداوند نعمت پا پیاده همراه علم و ضرائح تشریف مي‌برند و مرثیه سماعت میفرمایند و درانجا رسیده نماز عاشورا خوانده قریب بدو پهر بدولت‌خانه رجعت مي‌فرمایند * و دیگران تا سه پهر و شام هم آیند * درین روز در امانی‌گنج هزارها مردم جمع مي شوند و اقسام طعام از سرکارها بفقرا و مساکین تقسیم مي‌شود * و درینجا مکان شبیه کربلا بنانهادهٔ نوّاب ناظر سیّدی داراب علی خان بهادر است که بکمال خوش‌عتقادی آنرا ساخته و پنجشنبه دوم هرماه مجلس مقرّر است *

"Elegiac verses are also sung in Bengali by singers called *Bhathiyál*. They sit in the Imámbárah and round about the building, arranged in troops of 15 or 20. One of them who can read, has in his hand an elegy written in Bengali characters. He reads out a verse, which the others repeat with him in chorus. At the end of each verse they exclaim Hy! strike their chests with both hands and then the thighs, Some strike also the ground with their feet at the same moment, the sound of which motion produces a most saddening effect.

"For the harem of the Begums likewise some reciters are appointed and the chaunting continues here also to the 10th day of the Muharram. Couplets are sung and flags carried about in procession.

"On the 6th day of the Muharram, *i. e.* the 7th night [as the Muhammadans like the Jews commence the day at 6 o'clock P. M.], the *Méhndí* of Haszrat Qásim* (blessings be upon him!) is brought from the Nizám's palace and carried in procession to the imámbárah

* The day before a marriage a plate full of méhndí or henná is carried in procession from the house of the bride to the house of the bridegroom who stains his hands with it. The carrying about of this red dye is called in Hind. *mehndí uṭháná* and in Persian *hinábandí*. The Shí'ahs perform this ceremony during the Muharram also, in remembrance of Qásim, who the day after his marriage [*i. e.* when the méhndí procession had been performed] was slain at Karbalá with his father Husain.

with great pomp and illuminations. A body of infantry and cavalry march in procession before the méhndí, the Nawáb and attendants follow, and elegies are chaunted.

"On the 7th day the Imámbárah is turned into a harem and the Begums attend. They put fetters on the Nawáb, according to custom, and a chain round his neck. Hundreds of women, high and low, receive presents on this occasion, as the Begums distribute thousands of rupees, in order to fulfil certain vows.

"On the 8th day the flags are carried from the palace. The Nawáb accompanies them, barefooted and walking slowly, with pensive mien and great dignity, whilst tears unceasingly flow from his august eye.

"On the 10th day, called 'Ashúrá, before sunrise, the flags and the coffins are carried to Amáníganj, a place about 2 kós from the palace, where the coffins are buried. The Nawáb again walks barefooted in the procession, and, having arrived at the burial-place, orders elegies to be chaunted. The prayer appointed for this day is then read. About noon the Nawáb returns to his palace. The others do not return before the evening. The gathering of the people in Amáníganj is very great; for all kinds of food are distributed there to the poor and the inhabitants in general. Besides there is in Amáníganj a place resembling Kerbalá, laid out, from pious motives, by the Nawáb Názir Sayyidí Dárab 'Alí. A meeting is held there on the 2nd Thursday of every month.

"As the relatives of a dead person prepare a dinner 40 days after his death, a large public dinner is also prepared in the Imámbárah, 40 days after the end of the Muharram festivities, *i. e.* on the 20th day of the month of Çafar."

I may remark that the above ceremonies are purely Shí'ah. Educated Sunnís abhor them, but low Sunnís take a part both in the Shí'ah, and also in Hindoo festivities, all over India. The Shí'ahs in Calcutta have a house near Manicktollah, where they celebrate the 10th day of the Muharram by carrying flags about. Elegies are also sung and the shéwan is performed. The house, which is called Karbalá, is let during the year, but the tenants have to leave it during the Muharram.

I take this opportunity to correct a prevalent error, which even many of our lexicographers have made, viz. that the ta'ziahs are

carried about in remembrance of the death of Hasan and Husain. But it is in commemoration of the death in battle of Husain and his family only. Hasan had died a year before Husain of poison. Nor do the Shí'ahs exclaim in their lamentations "Hasan Husain!" but "Husain, Husain!" or "yá Husain! merely.

As a custom peculiar to Murshidábád, the author mentions a grand annual display of fireworks and a feast given by the Nawáb on the last Thursday of the month of Bhádón, to which the English gentry of Berhampore are generally invited.

A large raft of 100 cubits square is made of plantain trees and bamboos and covered with mud. In the midst of the raft a small fortress is built, to the walls of which all kinds of fireworks are attached. At the order of the Nawáb, the raft is launched (bhasáná) and steered to the other side of the river, when the fireworks are let off. The whole is done to the honour and glory of Haszrat Khwájah Khiszr, (may blessings be upon him).

Smaller rafts (hind. béṛá) are put on the tanks by Muhammadans of the lower classes all over Bengal on every Thursday during the month of Bhádón. The simplest ones consist of joined pieces of bamboos or plantain trees, with a few sweetmeats and a small lamp placed on them. They are made in order to discharge vows.

I do not know the origin of this custom, nor the area over which it extends. It is in all probability of Hindoo origin. But it reminds me of an attribute of Khiszr as the guide of wanderers, who loose their way in the darkness of the night. Indeed one must have seen the darkness of a night in Bengal during the month of Bhádón, to know what darkness really is.

Notes on the style of the book.

The writer succeeds in expressing his ideas clearly; awkward sentences occur seldom.

The style of the book is Hindustani-Persian, *i. e.* Persian words arranged according to the genius of the Hindustani language. The general failings of all Indian writers in Persian, from Abulfaszl downwards, appear also here. A preference is given to long periods with participial constructions corresponding to Hindustani forms as, کرکر

کرکے &c. The apodosis (جزاء) is generally introduced by words like بروین معنی, نظر بران, درین وقت &c., which corresponds to Hindustani correlative adverbs as جب and تب, جو and تو &c. Many phrases are purely Hindustani, e. g. بنا عجیب و غریب است که تعلق بدیدن دارد "the building is remarkable, so that it has a connection with seeing," i. e. "you must see the building to comprehend its beauty," or as one would say in Hindustani دیکھنے سے علاقہ رکھتا ہی you must see it, in order to judge. نماز خواندن for the Persian نماز کردن is the Hindustani نماز پڑھنا. The phrase مینهدی برداشتن for حنا بستن is Hindustani for مینهدی اٹھانا. The phrase میرن عرف صادق علی is Hind. for میرن معروف بصادق. The author uses also many Hindustani words quite needlessly, *e. g.* دوسه جفت مرثیه خوان for دوسه جوڑ مرثیه خوان. I was astonished to find the following monstrosity in the chapter on Murshidábád و نیز معمول ناظمان سلف بوده که در ماه بهادون که کشتی‌های نوازهٔ سرکاری که در ڈهاکه بود طلب میداشتند

"It was also the custom of the former Nawábs to send in the month of August for those government boats which were at Dacca." The most learned Persian scholar, unacquainted with Hindustani, would not know what to make of the کشتی before که. It is very good Hindustani* and stands for جو. کشتی ها is Indian usage for کشتیها. Hindustani authors also insist upon writing بادشاه for پادشاه, as پاد has an obscene meaning (V. Bahár i 'Ajam). اتواب is a curious Arabic plural of the Persian توپ, "The phrase" اشیای مغروته "plundered things" is a serious blunder. It looks as if the author had made a participle of the noun غارت mistaking the ت for a radical.

The handwriting of the MS. is a bad *Shikastah*.

* بهادون مهینے مین جو کشتیان ڈهاکه مین تهین الخ.

Notes on Buddhist Remains near Mynpoorie.—By C. Horne, *Esq. B. C. S.*

[Received, October 30th, 1866.]

At a distance of from 10 to 25 miles to the south of Mynpoorie extends of line of high Kheras, distant 3 or 4 miles apart.

On each of these, in ancient time, was some large building, but owing to their general transformation, some hundred years since, at a time of anarchy, into square mud forts, traces of these ancient buildings are hard to find.

In my former notes relative to Kerouli, Maloun and Kánemganj, I recorded evident traces of Buddhist buildings of probably the 3rd or 4th century A. D., but in the mounds recently visited, I have not been so successful.

Leaving Bújániganj canal station, opposite to which is a village perched on a high mound with its usual jheel around, created by the excavation of earth to form the said mound which I could not visit, I proceeded to Tukrow (canal station), nearly west for $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Three miles from there, still going west, I arrived at Bhawanti, a village similar to that just spoken of and probably worthy of a visit—but the sun forbad my examining it, and I pushed on to Kúrhat—which is a mound of great extent, with a very large jheel almost enclosing it.

Here the fort arrangement had been carried out, as shewn in Fig. 1; but I was fortunate in finding some very ancient solid brick blocks cut into ornamental patterns with a tool. (Fig. 2.) This block was burnt in one piece and was of very fine texture.

Fig. 1.

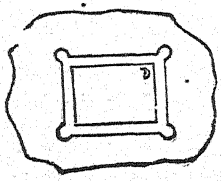


Fig. 2.

14 inch.

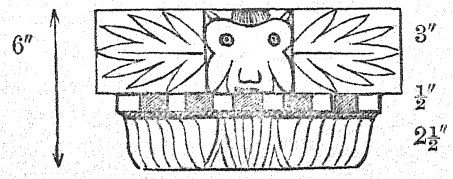
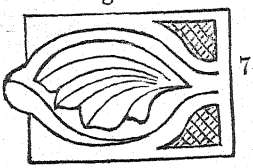
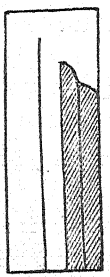


Fig. 3.



The next illustration was a finial corner ornament. (Fig. 3.) The cutting was very sharply done, and I found fragments of many other such bricks.

Fig. 4.



Fine kunkur blocks are rare here, and stone is quite unknown, hence the use of brick. There was, however, one small column shaft in fine kunkur (Fig. 4) which shewed the trace of a small building, probably early Hindoo.

There were also heaps of fragments of small kinriaros or cherubs, such as are seen around later statues of Buddha, as well as 2 pairs of feet, with one or two round faces with very large ear-rings, so that I think that this village would repay a careful search.

From Khurrah to Soj is only 2 or 3 miles. *Soj* is a mound of vast extent with a very large square mud fort rising 40 feet on its crest, and an immense jheel stretching away from its base. Near the jheel is an arrangement of old kunkur blocks 16′ × 10′—being 5 courses 4′—9″ in height, with many blocks lying around, amongst which I identified the centre block of a Jain ceiling as per fig. 5 in the margin.

2′-8″

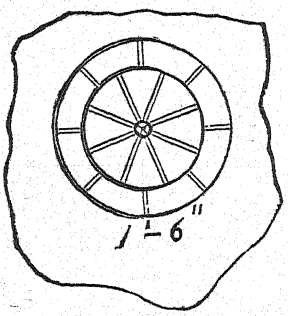


Fig. 5.

This from its size would indicate a building of small size; but kunkur is a formation which does not readily indicate age.

I also noticed, set up as a sacred post, a kunkur ornament  being a large finial, the same as found at Maloun. A portion of a statue of Buddha, being from the waist to the feet, also occurred, but I was much disappointed at finding so little that was really ancient.

Saman is about 2½ miles west of Soj, on a mound, with a jheel, and is entirely built in the said mound. It is the residence of Kullyan Sing, agent for the Rajah of Mynpoorie, and might repay a visit.

Proceeding still further west, we came to Kishní, on the metalled road from Futtyghur to Etawah. Here was one large mound covered with buildings in occupation, and so nearly inaccessible archæologically; and a smaller mound from which I was told large square bricks were excavated. I found here a heap of broken Hindoo deities, but not a trace of Buddhist remains.

Near Kúrhul I also saw a round mound from which they said large bricks were taken, but neither at Kishní nor at Kúrhal did I see an ancient brick either lying about or built into any structure.

The oldest coins I could get were some copper ones of the Delhi kings, but I have no doubt but that Hindoo punch coins are sometimes found. This line of country is worth carefully exploring, and as a road from Kurhal to Kishní is in course of construction, others will find it an easier matter than I did.

Notes on the Carvings on the Buddhist Rail-posts at Budh Gayá.

By C. Horne, *Esq. C. S.*

In submitting to the Society the accompanying drawings of the more remarkable of the carvings on the Buddhist rail-posts at Budh Gayá, some from the court-yard of the mahant, but chiefly from the little temple by the tower, I would beg to draw attention to some of them—

Plate, No. IV. *Firstly.*—The boat scene, almost identical with the one figured by Cunningham in the Bhilsa Topes.

Secondly.—The rest of the upper portion is of the same sheet, all of them copies, doubtless of Buddhist rails, pillars, and buildings. Here we find the round and pointed arch, but this argues nothing, when we remember that there were imitations of wood work and of thatch and bamboos as in the cave of the rock temples of Barabur close by.

Thirdly.—The central compartments are curious, but need little remark. At first I took them for astronomical emblems as signs of the zodiac, but I do not think they are.

Fourthly.—The lower ornament is nearly the same in all.

Memo.—Although drawn one over the other—it does not follow that the identical three were upon one and the same rail-post.

PLATE No. V.—The figure shewn as No. 2, to the left, is rather unusual. It wants all the refinement of Buddha, and does *not*, I think, represent him.—There is another such figure let into the wall, as you enter the lower room in the great tower on the right hand, inside the doorway. The fifth sketch puzzled me. It is perhaps intended to represent a good trick. To the extreme left is, what I believe to be, the only remnant yet found in Benares of a Buddhist rail. It is much defaced, and obliterated with dirt and ghee, and stands nearly opposite to the door of the golden temple on the left hand of the street.

The demon face to the extreme left of the centre one much resembles the Sarnath demon face; whilst the cornice is very bold, free, and handsome. The single demon face inside the brick tower, left, above the floor of the highest chamber, must have been built in, when the tower was built, and I should not assign any great age to it.

The portion of the Singhásan or idol shrine drawn nearly to scale, and which shews the holes into which were set the fastenings of the metal covering, is very curious. It exactly corresponds in style to the whole of the exterior plaistering of the great tower, and in the event of the arches having been declared to be coeval with the tower, I must amend my former opinion, and would hold that the tower was rebuilt, interiorly arched, and wholly plaistered at or about 500 A. D.—the date of Amara Sinha, when the original Buddhist railing included both the Bo tree and the tower.

In conclusion, I may remark, that although my drawings are very defective, yet the original carvings are very rude, and clearly betoken their early execution.

The Pegu Pagoda.—*By Capt.* H. A. Browne, *Deputy Commissioner of Rangoon.*

[Received Nov. 28th, 1866. Read 5th Dec. 1866.]

Every ancient Pagoda in Burmah has its *Thamaing* or "sacred chronicle," giving an account of the relics or quasi-relics which it was built to enshrine, the names of the kings, rulers or other distinguished personages by whom it was erected or has since been repaired or embellished, in short its history from its foundation down to a recent time. The commencement of those chronicles is of a more or less mythical character; the founding of each particular pagoda being connected, if possible, by its historian with some event in the life of Gaudama, who is fabled to have visited these regions after he became a Buddha. Some gleams of real history may be detected even in the mythical portions of the narratives, but later on the chronicles are truthful contributions to the history of the period. To disunite some of these from the obscurity of the Hpoongyee's book-chests, and give a compendious description of their contents, will not be an uninteresting task, and the results may be useful to the author who will some day write "The History of Burmah," as well as interesting to the general reader.

One of the most ancient and famous among the Pagodas of Burmah is the graceful structure known as the Shwé Hmawdaw ရွှေမော်တော် at the town called, by Europeans, Pegu, and by Burmans, Pago ပဂိုး or Paigoo ဘဂူး*, but formerly known as Hanthawadie ဟံသာဝတီ, which, since the decline of Thatoon သထုံ twelve centuries ago, has been the capital of the Talaing nationality.

Hanthawadie is derived from the "Hantha" (Goose or Brahminee Duck), the national bird of the Talaings. Concerning the manner in which this bird came to be selected by the Talaings as their emblem,

* The name "Pago" appears to be of Burmese not Talaing derivation. It is said to be a corruption of "Paikho" ဘိုး or Beau-thief, from some old legend connected with the place.

The name of the pagoda "Hmawdaw" is a corruption of the Talaing Hpot-daw which is interpreted in Burmese as "Bhoorabyan," a "winged" or flying Bhoora.

the following fable is narrated. When Gaudama, in the eighth year after he became a Buddha, was on a preaching tour in these parts, he passed by the hill on which Hanthawadie was afterwards built, and there seeing two "Hanthas," which with joined wings paid him obeisance, he foretold that 1116 years after his death, there would be built on that spot a town which would become the capital of a race of monarchs and an important city. As he foretold, so it came to pass. On this site, which is just outside the eastern wall of the present town, the original founders of the Talaing kingdom of Pegu, Thamala and Wiemala, built the old city of Hanthawadie, about 573 A. D. The district, which took its name from the capital town, contained at its most floursihing period 32 cities or townships, and included the eastern half of the present district of Rangoon, with parts of Toungoo and Shwegyeen. The following are the names of the thirty-two cities.

1. Dengmai; 2. Zarayboon; 3. Hmawbyo; 4. Lagwonbyeng; 5. Akharaing; 6. Ma-oo; 7. Ramanago; 8. Ramawatie; 9. Hmawbee; 10. Hlaing; 11. Hpoungleng; 12. Htandawgyee; 13. Deedwot; 14. Zeta; 15. Zoungdoo; 16. Hpa-aing; 17. Merengzaya 18. Tagnabhoung; 19. Meng-raihla; 20. Kawlieya; 21. Zaingana-ing.

The whole of these twenty-one townships are within the limits of the present district of Rangoon, and the names may all, with the exception of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 18 and 19, be found in the Map of Pegu. Those which are not now traceable among the existing towns or divisions of the district, were situated as follows: No. 1. Dengmai, on the bank of the Sittang river, south east from Pegu. No. 2. Zarayboon, now known as Zwaiboon, in the same neighbourhood. No. 3. Hmawbyo, doubtful. No. 6. Ma-oo, part of Akharaing. No. 7. Ramanago, the present town of Rangoon. No. 8. Ramawatie, the country round the present town of Rangoon. No. 13, Deedwot, north of Pegu. No. 14, Zeta, north of Pegu. No 16, Hpa-aing, on the bank of the Irrawady, opposite to Danoobyoo. This division existed up to the annexation of Pegu, when the circle of Hpa-aing was amalgamated with that of Tagay. No. 18, Tagnabhoung, between Hmawbee and Hlaing. No. 19, Mengrai-hla, next to Tagnabhoung.

The following are the cities which lie within the limits of the present district of Shwegyeen. No. 22, Koukmaw; No. 23, Ban-myo; No. 24, Doontsaran; No. 25, Kyeekya; No. 26, Tsittoung (Sittang); No. 27, Atha; No. 28, Ywongzaleng; and the remainder which are in the district of Toungoo, are—No. 29, Toonkhan, No. 30, Rainwari, No. 31, Baingta, No. 32, Wenghpyaing.

Below is a table shewing the names of the kings by whom these towns were founded and the dates assigned to the reigns of the kings.

Name of City.	*Name of King.*	*Date of Reign.* B. E.	A. D.
Koukmow.	Thamala.	514	1152
Banmyo.	Ditto.		
Doontsaran.	Ditto.		
Kyeekya.	Ditto.		
Tsittoung.	Wiemala.	526	1164
Dengmai.	Ditto.		
Zarayboon.	Ditto.		
Atha.	Ditto.		
Hmawbyo.	Mahiemoora Ariendaraza.	550	1188
Lagwonbyeng.	Ditto.		
Akharaing.	Hientharaza	557	1195
Ma-oo.	Ditto.		
Ramanago.	Poonnarickha.	697	1335
Ramawatie.	Ditto.		
Hmawbee.	Ditto.		
Hlaing.	Ditto.		
Hpoungleng.	Tietharaza	712	1350
Htandawgyee.	Byeenya-oo.	731	1369
Deedwot	Ditto.		
Zeta	Ditto.		
Zoungdoo.	Ditto.		
Hpa-aing.	Ditto.		
Doonkhan.	Ditto.		
Rainwai.	Ditto.		
Merengzaya.	Ditto.		
Tagnabhoung.	Ditto.		

Mengraihla.	Ditto.		
Kawlieya.	Razadhicrit.	743	1381
Baingta.	Ditto.		
Wenghpyaing.	Queen Beenya daw San Shang tsaw-boo.	850	1488
Gwon-zaleng.	Dhammatsedee.	864	1502
Zainganaing.	Thoo-sheng-taga Riwot pie	901	1539*

The dates in the above table are those given in the "Thamaing" of the Shwé Hmawdaw, but it is clear that in this particular, *i. e.* as regards dates, the chronicle is altogether wrong. The year 1116 of the religious era, in which year Pegu is said to have been founded, corresponds with the year 493 of king Thamoondarie's Era (573 A. D.) but the chronicle gives the year 514 of the present secular era as the date of this occurrence A. D. 1152. This makes a difference of 579 years in the date of Thamala's reign.

The Shwe-Hmawdaw, like many other pagodas, is said to have been built in order to enshrine two of Gaudama's hairs. The legend relates that in the sixth year after Gaudama had obtained omniscience

* There are five different eras known in Burmese Chronology. They are as follows:—

1st.—The Kawza era which, after lasting 8650 years, was abolished by Bhodaw Eentsana, grandfather of Gaudama, in B. C. 691.

2nd.—Bhodaw Eentsana's era, which lasted 148 years only, until Gaudama's death, B. C. 543.

3rd.—King Ayatathat's or the Religious era. This lasted 624 years, until A. D. 82.

4th.—King Thamoondarie's era. In 82 A. D. Thamoondarie, king of Prome, superseded the Religious era, as far as secular purposes were concerned, by his own era which he established from the 622nd year of the Religious era, A. D. 80. This era lasted 562 years, until 643 A. D.

5th.—Pagantsaw Rahan's or Pooppatsaw Rahan's era. In 642 A. D. this king of Pegu abolished the Prome era and established his own, making it commence from the year 560 of the former era. This era has now reached its 1228th year.

Another era, but little used, known as Gnyoung Mangtara's era, which lasted 798 years, was synchronous with a portion of the present era.

According to Burmese computation, therefore, the following number of years have elapsed since the death of Gaudama:—

Ayatathat's Era, years	622
Thoomoondarie's Era,	560
Pooppatsaw Rahan's Era,	1227
Total	2,409

Which fixes the date of that occurrence, viz. the death of Gaudama, in 543 B.C.

(about 582 B. C.) whilst he was tarrying in the Makkoola Hill near the source of the Thalwon (Gwon-zaleng) river, he was visited by two pilgrims from Zoungdoo* named Mahathala and Tsoolathala, the sons of Pientaka, a wealthy merchant of that town. The brothers made many offerings. Gaudama, being desirous of requiting them, and at the same time of establishing his religion in their country, shook his head, and presented to the brothers two hairs which adhered to his hands, directing them to enshrine the same on the Thoodathana-Myeng-theeta Hill which lay to the west of the Hanthawadie Hill. The two brothers being ignorant of the locality of these hills, Gaudama described them as surrounded by the sea, from which they had but lately emerged, and promised that they should be pointed out by the Nats and Brahmas. Gaudama then prophesied that in the 1116th year of his religion, and the year 514 of the secular era, two brothers, named Thamala and Wiemala, would found the city of Hanthawadie to the east of the Thoodathana-Myeng-theeta Hill, and that his religion would flourish there.

The two brothers, Mahathala and Tsoolathala, then took ship and conveyed the sacred relics, enclosed in a casket provided for the purpose by the Thagya king of their native town, where they were received with great rejoicing. After holding high festival for seven months and seven days, they proceeded to obey the instructions they had received, by enshrining the relics on the Thoodathana Hill. Guided by the miraculous power of the Nats and Brahmas, they speedily arrived at the spot, and then they prayed that an omen might be given if that was indeed the very place. In answer to their prayers, the great earth shook. This not only supplied the desired information, but called down a host of Nats and Brahmas from the upper regions to take part in the enshrinement of the relics. By them the shrine was thus prepared. At the bottom of a pit ten cubits square was laid a slab of pearly white marble, set with diamonds. A similar slab, set with emeralds, was prepared to cover the mouth of the pit. In the centre of the bottom slab the Thagya king placed a golden cradle, round which were ranged images of the chief disciples of Gaudama, each holding a golden bouquet. These disciples were Thaicapootra, Mawgalan, Theeree Maha Maya, Theeree Thoodaw-

* A place which still exists upon the Pegu river, about 20 miles above Pegu.

dana, Gathawdara, Khema, Oopawon, Rahoola and Ananda. The sacred relics were then conducted with great pomp from Zoungdoo to the Hill, the distance, two Yooyanas (24 miles), being travelled in fourteen days. The casket containing the hairs was then placed on the cradle, and high festival was held around the shrine. Besides the images of the chief disciples, those of the following persons also were placed in the shine; Mahathala and Tsoolathala, the disciples Anooroodha, Mahakathapa, Ooroowelakathapa, Oopalie-pagnya, Isaweggie, the king of the Brahmas and his four wives. The several positions occupied by these images are all carefully described in the legend. Countless offerings were then made, the Thagya king giving ten billions of gold, each of his four queens forty thousand of silver, Pientaka one thousand of gold, Mahathala and Tsoolathala one thousand and eighty of silver, and so on. The Thagya king then placed certain Nats to guard the shrine, and a structure of stone and brick, 50 cubits high and 250 cubits in circumference, was erected over it. This took place in the year 119, Bhodaw Eentsana'a era, 572 B. C., on Saturday the 1st of the waxing of the month of Tagoo.

Then follows a list of the people dedicated by the Rulers of Zoungdoo, Thamandaraya and his queen Thoobhattadewee, to the service of the Shwe Hmawdaw, and the extent of the land which was declared to belong to the shrine. The land was as follows,—to a distance of 100 "Tas" (1,050 feet) to the east of the Pagoda, 100 "Tas" to the north, 100 "Tas" to the west, and 50 "Tas" to the south. This would comprise an area of about 310 acres.

Here ends the first chapter of the mythical portion of the legend, from which no real information can be gleaned, except perhaps that there was a town at Zoungdoo before Hanthawadie was founded.

We have not yet, however, got out of the mythical period. Our chronicler next attempts to connect the Pagoda with the celebrated revival of religion which took place in the reign of the great Athawka of Patalipoot in the commencement of the 3rd century of the Christian era. The legend states that in the 218th year of the religious and the 327th of the secular era* there was not a single worshipper of Pagodas or relics in the country. Cities had declined from their

* Another mistake in chronology. There is no secular era known, the 327th year of which corresponds with 218 of the religious era.

former greatness, and the temples had fallen into ruins, when the king of the great country of Patalipoot named Athawka Dhamma Raja invited the Rahandas Mawgaliopootta, Fictha and Oobhara to the third council, and under their guidance searched for sacred relics wherever they were to be found. The Rahandas pointed out the places where the holy hairs and other relics were reposing in the country of Hanthawadie; seven Tsedees were cleared of the trees and weeds, with which they were overgrown, and were ornamented with golden Htees by the piously disposed monarch. These Tsedees were the Dagoon, the Kyaik-dewa, the Kyaik-thamwonhan, the Shwe Hmawdaw, the Makaw, the Kyaik-Khouk and the Kyaik-tanoo. All these, with the exception of the Shwe Dagoon (Rangoon), are in the neighhourhood of the town of Pegu.

A number of persons were also devoted by king Athawka to be the attendants or servitors of these Pagodas.

A complete list of them is given—ninety men were assigned to the Shwe Hmawdaw and twenty-five to the Shwe Dagoon. Altogether five hundred men were devoted to the seven Pagodas. Of these two hundred were from the west of the Sittang river, and the remainder were Mogoung Shens. Lands also were dedicated to the use of these Pagodas.

The extent of the lands is carefully described in the legend. The land which was assigned to the Shwe Hmawdaw was the same which had been given before by king Thamandaraza of Zoungdoo. The lands assigned to the Shwe Dagoon were more extensive. Their boundaries are thus described. On the east the Thabyoo Khyoung, on the north the Zoung-Khyoung, on the west the Myoung Mya Pagoda, on the south the river.

King Athawka then returned to Patalipoot.* After the episode of king Athawka, there is a hiatus of nearly 900 years in the chronicle, and we arrive then at the historical period.

* The first introduction of Buddhism into India extra Gangem dates from the time of Athawka. After the 3rd council had completed their labors and reduced Buddhism to its present form by the compilation of the Beetagat or scriptures, missionaries were deputed to all the neighbouring countries to spread the knowledge of the faith. Two of them, Potera and Thawna, arrived in the Talaing country of Thatoon, whence their religion spread over Burmah. It is doubtful whether, at the time of their arrival, the Talaings had yet occupied the country to the west of the Sittang River.

In the year 1116 of the religious and 514 of the 3rd era* the Thagya king established the brothers Thamala and Wiemala as rulers over the country of Hanthawadie. They found the Shwe Hmawdaw still in existence. In 523 king Thamala, perceiving that the "Htee" (chatta or canopy) of the Pagoda was bent and inclining towards the south-west, was filled with religious fear, and raised the Pagoda from its original height of 50 to 54 cubits, crowned it with a new golden Htee, and dedicated 25 families of Engdaret to its service.

In 526 Thamala died, and his brother Wiemala Koomma reigned alone. He added 5 cubits to the height of Shwe Hmawdaw, making it 59 cubits in all, gilded it, and gave it a new golden Htee. He also erected nine others Tsedees, the names of which are given, and dedicated five families of Tadaugyan to the perpetual service of the Shwe Hmawdaw.

Wiemala reigned alone 17 years and died in 543. He was succeeded by his nephew, Thamala's son, named Athakoomma. He also was a pious prince, and being desirous of surpassing the meritorious works performed by his uncle, added 6 cubits more to the height of the Shwe Hmawdaw, and built seven other Tsedees, the names of which are given, all of which he gilded, and crowned with golden Htees. After reigning seven years, he died in 550.

He was succeeded by his son Ariendaraza or Arienda koomma. Seven months after this prince came to the throne, he observed that the Htee of the Shwe Hmawdaw was inclining towards the north-west. On this he ordered his chief noble Thoorathiedie at once to repair and embellish the holy structure. This was done, and seven more cubits were added to the height of the Pagoda, making it 73 cubits high. Thoorathiedhia's son erected another Pagoda, also 73 cubits high, to the north of the Shwe Hmawdaw, which Pagoda is still known by the name of the "Nobleman's Son's Pagoda." Ariendaraza, who was well versed in the laws of kings and replete with the eighteen kinds of knowledge, was desirous of emulating the

* By the 3rd era the writer means the 3rd era after Gaudama. *i. e.* the present one. As before remarked, there is no secular era of which the 514th year corresponds with the 1116th year of the religious era. As far as the chronicle shews, therefore, it is doubtful whether Pegu was founded by Thamala and Wiemala in 573, A. D. or in 1152, A. D. In the text, to avoid confusion, the dates only of the secular era mentioned by the chronicler, will be given.

meritorious works of his predecessors, and therefore having associated with himself his queen Kethanee and his chief noble and ministers, erected the Pagoda called Kyaik-depazan, to the service of which they dedicated Gua Tsaukha and seven families. The king also dedicated forty-seven families to the service of the Shwe Hmawdaw.

Ariendaraza reigned seven years, and died in 557. His son Hientharaza or Mahiengtharaza succeeded him. During his reign a particular storm occurred, which blew off the Htee of Shwe Hmawdaw, as well as the upper portion of the Pagoda itself. All were seized with fear. The king had the damages repaired and a new jewelled Htee constructed. The Pagoda was raised three cubits more, making its height 75 cubits. Four families of Htwonkalaing were dedicated to the Pagoda, and the village of Htwonkalaing given to them for their subsistence.

Hientharaza reigned 17 years, and died in 573. On his death there was an interregnum of 17 days, during which time the chief Hpoongyee managed the temporal affairs of the kingdom, until Giendraza ascended the throne. The chronicle does not state what relation this king bore to his predecessors. Three months after his accession to the throne, he repaired the west face surrounding wall of the Shwe Hmawdaw. This king was wise and powerful, well versed in the ten laws of kings, was possessed of the three kinds of strength, knew the four stratagems, and was full of the four laws of charity. He erected the Kyaikpadaing Pagoda, an elegant structure on the top of an eminence about 8 miles south of Pegu. Concerning the erection of this Pagoda the chronicle relates that when the king was making a progress through the country, he learnt from ancient records that three holy hairs had been deposited by the Hermit Gandawadee in the Thoowonna Hill, and a cairn of stones was placed over them. Finding a heap of stones on the south-west extremity of this Hill, he concluded that this must be the very spot where the three hairs had been deposited, and accordingly he erected over it a Tsedee 87 cubits high, gilded the structure, and crowned it with a golden Htee. He appointed nine families of Htwonmai to be its servitors, and dedicated to it the land immediately around, within the following limits: on the east 400 "Tas," on the north 200 "Tas," on the west 300

"Tas," on the south 400 "Tas." After this the king raised the Shwe Hmawdaw 5 cubits more, making it 80 cubits high, and dedicated to it three more famalies of Moonetkarie. The Pagodas, monasteries and other religious works erected by this monarch are innumerable, and all men are exhorted to follow his example.

In this style the chronicler goes on, giving a minute history of the additions to the repairs and embellishments of the Shwe Hmawdaw under each succeeding monarch, down to Badoon Meng, the Burman king who built the city of Amarapoora, 1143 B. E.=1781 A. D. He gives, likewise, a complete list of the other meritorious works, building of Pagodas, monasteries, &c. by which the reigns of these kings were distinguished.

As the recital of these works, however veracious it may be, is somewhat tedious and uninteresting, except to a pious Boodhist, it will be omitted in the present narrative. The names of the kings with the dates of their accession will be given in a tabular form, and the more remarkable events only, which are mentioned in the Thamaing, will be noticed in the text.

The ninth monarch, Kawarieka, is said to have been a more powerful monarch than his predecessors, and to have received on this account *tribute*, which may be interpreted presents, from the kings of Siam, Thatoon, Ceylon, China and Pagaw. The same is related of his son Pecutsalaraza. This king, Pecutsalaraza, established the Karanee monastery, about two miles west of Pegu, where there is still a "Thein" or Buddhist consistory built of masonry, some wooden monasteries, and a small stone-henge, an interesting relic of the original establishment. This consists of a number of granite pillars about eight feet high, planted on the ground, and covered with inscriptions in the square Pali character. Many of them, thick and massive as they are, have been broken and thrown down, and the inscription partially effaced. The copy of what remains, fills a small closely written volume, the contents of which I have not yet been able to go through. The 12th king, Anooramaraza, signalized his reign by procuring a holy tooth-relic from Theeree-dhamma-thawka, the prince of Thatoon. This he enshrined in the Shwe Hmawdaw.

The 17th king, Tietha, is notorious in Talaing history as having for a time abjured the Buddhist faith, and made great havoc among

its temples. The pious chronicler, however, says nothing about this, but enumerates the good works which he performed after his reconversion.

With this king, the chronicle states, "the race of Hanthawadie kings became extinct, and the king of Pagan appointed Akhamamwon to rule over Pegu. Three months after his arrival at Pegu, this Viceroy attempted to shake off the yoke of the Pagan king, and a general named Narapadie was sent to subdue him. In this he succeeded, and Akhamamwon was killed. Lekhaya was then appointed Governor of Pegu, but was recalled three months after his arrival. Talabya was appointed to succeed him. A month after his arrival in Pegu this Governor also revolted, and sent to ask assistance from Warooree, the powerful king of Martaban. Warooree came to assist him with an army of 40,000 men. The Pagan king sent down a General named Theehapade with an army of 50,000 men, 1,000 war boats, 1,000 elephants and 5,000 horses. A great battle was fought at Ma-oo in which the Pagan army was worsted, and fled back to Pagan. Talabya professed the utmost gratitude to his ally, but was secretly jealous of, and laid a plan to destroy, him. He invited Warooree to tarry for a few days at Pegu. Warooree's army dispersed to seek their subsistence in the neighbourhood, and Talabya was proceeding to carry out his nefarious design, when Warooree became acquainted with the danger of his position. Having prayed that the ten modes of punishment might fall on the head of the violator of the ten laws of friendship, Warooree mounted his elephant, and with 20 followers prepared to meet Talabya. The two monarchs attacked each other on their elephants. Warooree ran his spear throngh Talabya, who fell dead from his seat. Thus Hanthawadie became a conquered province of Martaban, and paid tribute to Warooree.*

* In the A. S. Journal No. 76, April, 1838, I find a copy of an inscription on a bell found at Arakan (the translation by the way which is given in the Journal is very incorrect) which inscription appears to relate to the story of Warooree and Talabya, though their names are not mentioned. In this the date of Warooree's victory over the Pagan king is given as 1913 of the religious era,=1370 A. D., i. e. 16 years later than the date given in the Shwe Hmawdaw Thamaing. The translator in the Journal has cut off the first figure in the date, adding "we suppose the 1 to be an accidental stroke," and has taken it to mean 913 of the present era A. D. 1645, which is a mistake. The inscription states that this bell was cast in 984 of the present era A. D. 1622, long after Warooree's time. The bell was probably cast in Arakan, and not brought thither from Pegu.

Warooree was succeeded by Pagnya-Oo, who transferred the seat of government from Martaban to Pegu. The chronicler has here again been guilty of a chronological mistake. He states that Pagnya-Oo reigned 16 years in Martaban and 19 in Pegu, altogether 35 years, and yet he makes the date of his accession 731 and of his death 743; thus allowing a period of 12 years only for his reign. This king appears to have done more to extend his dominions than any of his predecessors on the throne of Hanthawadie—vide the list of cities founded, already given.

Pagnya-Oo was succeeded by his son Razadhicrit who was one of the most powerful monarchs who ever reigned in Pegu; Arakan and China are said to have paid him tribute, and the chronicle gives an interesting account of his relations with Ceylon.

Pandooya,* the king of that island, sent him his daughter Thamoot-tadewee, with a fleet of seven ships and a holy tooth-relic. This was enshrined in the Shwe Hmawdaw.

King Razadhicrit reigned 40 years.

In the reign of Byeenya-rau-khaik, who flourished A. D. 1427 about, the Shwe Dagoon Pagoda of Rangoon is mentioned for the first time in the historical period by the chronicler of the Shwe Hmawdaw. It is said that having been damaged by a storm, the Pagoda was

* This name cannot be identified with any of the names of the kings of Ceylon as given in Turnour's Mahawanso. The only name at all like it is that of the 139th king, Pandita Prakrama, who flourished about 1319 A. D. In Turnour's Epitome, the following instances of communication between Burmah and Ceylon are mentioned. A. D. 1071, Anurudha, king of Arakan, sent learned priests to Ceylon. A. D. 1592, Wemala Dharm, king of Ceylon, brought learned priests from Arakan. In 1153 A. D. the Ceylon king is said to have sent an expedition to "Arramana" to chastise the king of that country for having committed acts of violence on Singhalese subjects, and having intercepted ships conveying some princesses from Ceylon to the continent. In 1186 also a Pali letter was written to the king of Arramana soliciting him to send learned priests to Ceylon. Is not this Arramana the same as Ramagnya, the Pali name of a portion of Pegu? In Tennent's Ceylon it is stated that when the Holy Tooth Relic of Ceylon was seized by the Portuguese, in 1560, "the sovereign of Pegu, who had previously "dispatched annual embassies to offer homage at its shrine, sent in anxious "haste to redeem it by exchange of treasures and political services," an offer which, through the influence of the priests, was declined. Again in 1566, the king of Pegu having been told by the astronomers that he was to wed a Singhalese princess, sent to demand her. The king unfortunately happened to have no daughter, but the daughter of one of his ministers was palmed off upon the Pegu monarch as a princess, and at the same time a *counterfeit* tooth was sent to Pegu as the genuine tooth-relic, which had in fact been destroyed by the Portuguese.

repaired by king Byeenya-rau-khaik. This king reigned 30 years.*

His son and successor Byeenya-kharo is said to have been a very just monarch, and several instances are given of the inflexibly strict manner in which he administered justice. In A. D. 1388 a female sovereign, queen Beengnya-daw or Byeengnya-daw Shengtsawboo reigned in Pegu. She was 58 years old when she came to the throne. After residing seven years in Hanthawadie, she left her son in charge of that town, and removed her court to Dagoon (Rangoon). She built a place to the south-west of the Shwe Tshaudaw (Shwe Dagoon), and dedicated lands within the following limits to the service of the Pagoda. On the east Kyaik-kanet, on the south Kyaik-kanoot, on the west Kyaik-myoungmya, and on the north Kyaik-mo-rap.†

The queen was succeeded by her son-in-law Dhamma-tsedee who built another capital to the west of the original town of Hanthawadie. This king received a present of 100,000 paving-stones from Ceylon. With half of these he paved the court of the Shwe Dagoon, and used the other half for a similar purpose at the Shwe Hmawdaw.

The twelfth king of the Martaban dynasty was conquered by the great Toungnoo king Tabeng-shwe-htee, of whom the chronicler records nothing, except that he kept the Shwe Hmawdaw in good order, and performed other meritorious works.

He was succeeded by Thamaing-daw-rwot-kalie whose lineage is not specified, but he was probably a descendant of the Martaban race of kings. His reign is memorable, from his having been the last monarch who added to the height of the Shwe Hmawdaw. Subsequent monarchs repaired it and gave new Htees, but none of them added to the building itself. Thamangdaw raised it six cubits, making its height altogether 205 cubits=324 feet about. At this height it has remained ever since, being a few feet higher than the Shwe Dagoon of Rangoon.

Thamangdaw was dethroned by another celebrated Toungnoo monarch, known as Tsheng-hbyoo-mya-sheng (Lord of many white elephants). This king removed his capital to Pegu, and built the

* In the A. S. Journal No. 5 of 1859, Col. A. P. Phayre, in his account of the Shwe Dagoon Pagoda, states: "It was not until the reign af Ban-gya-rau, in 808, that anything was done to restore the Shwe Dagoon." "Ban-gya" should have been written Bangya or Bangnya, pronounced "Beenga."

† Kyaik is the Burmanized form of a Talaing word "kyat," meaning a Pagoda.

present walled city of Pegu, to the west of the former town of Hanthawadie, and nearer the river. The power of this king was great. Ceylon paid him tribute and Siam sent princesses. He built the Maha-tsedee Pagoda, a huge pile of brick and laterite, about two miles to the west of Pegu, near the Karanee monastery. This, if completed, would have rivalled the Shwe Hmawdaw in size, but it appears never to have been finished, though the king dedicated 31 families from Twante in Dallah to its service. This is the first occasion on which the Dallah division of the present Rangoon district, which lies to the west of the Rangoon river, is mentioned by the chronicler.

This part of the country appears to have been colonised by an independent race of Talaings, and not to have formed part of the original country of Hanthawadie.

After the death of Nau-kya-bhooreng, in A.D. 1624, a "Koola Pathee kappeetan" (literally a western foreigner Musalman captain) ruled Pegu from Thanlyeng or Syriam. He, no doubt, was a Portuguese. The chronicle states "he was a heretic, and for 12 years searched for "Pagodas to destroy them. Religion perished in Ramangnya, and "good works were no longer performed. The Htee and the Tshap-"thwa-hpoo* of the Shwe Hmawdaw were pulled down and taken to "Syriam. But the people of Hanthawadie, at the instigation of the "Rahans Telatseng and Engamoot, made a new Tshap-thwa-hpoo of "150 viss of gold of the Pagoda."

When the Ava king heard of the conduct of the Kappeetan, he sent an army of 10,000 men under Meng-rai-kyaw-tswa against him; the Kappeetan fled, and was drowned when crossing the river to Dallah. The Ava king, whose name is not given, then ruled in Hanthawadie. He appears to have resided in Hanthawadie.

The fifth king of this dynasty, Meng-rai-kyaw-goung, dedicated 190 families of Pada in Syriam, who had rebelled against his authority, to the service of the Shwe Hmawdaw, and assigned three villages for their support.

The seventh king reigned in Ava, and made Hanthawadie over to a governor Guatha Oung, who oppressed the people and was killed in a rebellion. The next governor also was killed by a rebel named

* The spike above the Htee, so called from its resemblance to the flower of the screw-pine.

Tsheng-kya-sheng of Tharet-oke, who set himself up as king with the title of Boodha-kethee Tsheng-kya-sheng. In this king's reign, it is recorded the white foreigners appeared in Pegu.

This king is said to have removed to Laboon in Zimmay, and to have been succeeded by Gui-khaing who was deposed by his minister Kanaikhaing, who was anointed king with the title of Bya-maing-dee-razadie-patie. This king's son, Byeeaguyadalla, appears hardly to have commenced his reign when the Talaings were finally subjugated by the great Burman conquerer Aloung Bhoora—whose approach, the chronicler says, was heralded by a violent storm and earthquake, by which the upper part of the Shwe Hmawdaw was thrown down. After subduing the provinces of Dhaway (Tavoy), Byiet (Mergui), Taneng-tharee (Tenasserim), Taraw Byat-bhic and Dwarawadee, Aloung Bhoora died on the 13th increase of Nayoon 1122 (A. D. 1760) at the village of Lawa-mye-byahma.

With the seventh king of this dynasty, Bhadoon-meng, who ascended the throne A. D. 1771, the Thamaing of the Shwe Hmawdaw concludes. The Bhadoon-meng built a new capital, Amarapura, and was anointed in 1773, with the lengthy title of Theeree-pawara-wiezara-nanda-rathtarie-bhawana-tietya-tiepatie-pandita-maha-Dhamma-razadhieraza. In his reign the shwe Hmawdaw was repaired, and a new Htee made under the supervision of the Governor of Hanthawadie. Here ends the chronicle of the Shwe Hmawdaw.

Kings and Governors of Hanthawdie according to the Hmawdaw Thamaing.

	Names.	*Dates of Accession.*	
		B. E.	A. D.
1	Thamala, ...	514	1152
2	Wiemala, or Wiemala Koomma,...	526	1164
3	Athakoomma, ...	543	1181
4	Ariendaraza or Mahiemoorarien-daraza, ...	550	1188
5	Hientharaza, ...	557	1195
6	Giendaraza, ...	574	1212
7	Mieggadiepa, ...	586	1224
8	Giezzawievararaza, ...	601	1239
9	Kawarieka, ...	611	1249

10	Peentsalaraza, ...	623	1261
11	Attatharaza, ...	636	1274
12	Anooramaraza, ...	651	1289
13	Mieggadiepagnay, ...	663	1301
14	Eggathamandaraza, ...	673	1311
15	Oopalaraza, ...	685	1323
16	Poonnarieka, ...	697	1335
17	Tietharaza, ...	712	1350

Governors appointed from Pagan.

1	Akhamamwon, ...	716	1354
2	Narapadie, ...	,,	,,
3	Lekhaya, ...	,,	,,
4	Talabya, ...	,,	,,

The Martaban Dynasty.

1	Warooree, ...	716	1354
2	Pagnya-Oo, ...	731	1369
3	Razadhicrit,*	743	1381
4	Dhammaraza or Pagnya-dhammaraza, ...	783	1421
5	Byeenya-ran-khaik, ...	789	1427
6	Byeenya-kharo, ...	821	1459
7	Byeen-kyan-daw,...	847	1485
8	Tamawadaw or Liet-mwot-daw-tamawdaw, ...	850	1488
9	Beenyadaw or Byeenyadaw Sheng-tsaw-boo, ...	850	1488 a female sovereign.
10	Dhammatsedee or Dhamma-tsekya-tsedee, ...	864	1502
11	Hattiraza or Byeenya-ran bhiethieta	878	1516
12	Atie-raw-raza or Taga-rwot-pie,...	901	1539

Toungoo king.

1	Tabengshwe-htee...	923	1561

* If Pagnya-Oo reigned 35 years, Razadhicrit's accession will be 766 B. E. or 1404 A .D.

Dynasty not specified.

1	Thamamgdaw-rwot kalie, ...	930	1568
2	Tsheng-hbyoo-mya sheng, ...	942	1580
3	Nan-kya-bhooreng, ...	971	1609
4	A Koola Pathee Kappeetan, ...	986	1624

Ava Dynasty.

1	A king, name not given, ...	998	1636
2	Meng-Rai-dieppa, ...	1013	1651
3	Thato-maha-dhamma-raza, ...	1013	1651
4	Nankya Engwa Bhooreng, ...	1033	1671
5	Meng-Rai-kyaw Goung, ...	1055	1693
6	Engwa-Bhooreng, ...	1070	1708

Governors appointed by Ava kings.

1	Gna-Tha-Oung, ...	1099	1737
2	Meng-Rai-Oung, ...	„	„

Talaing kings.

1	Boodha-kethee-tsheng-kya-sheng,	1102	1740 (?)
2	Gnakhaing, ...	1108	1746
3	Bya-maingdee-razadie-patie, ...	1108	1746
4	Byeengnya Dalla, ...	1119	1757

Burman Dgnasty.

1	Aloung Bhoora, ...	1120	1758
2	His son's name not given, ...	1122	1760
3	Tsaleng-myo-tsa-meng, ...	1125	1763
4	Tshengoo-tsa, ...	1138	1766
5	Hpoung-ga-tsa, ...	1143	1771
6	Bhadoon meng, ...	1143	1771

On the Antiquities of Bágerhát.—By Bábu Gourdass Bysack, *Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Manbhoom.*

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The Delta of the Ganges offers few localities of interest to the antiquarian. An alluvial plain, intersected by a number of mighty and ever-shifting rivers, there is not a spot on it, which can arrest the attention of the traveller by ever so poor a display of the remains of human art of a former age; no hoary temple of the ancient Hindu rajas,—no majestic palace buried under the dust and vegetation of centuries,—no baronial castle where the Aryan held revelry, when the Moslem had not yet set his feet on this land,—rewards the search of the inquirer. Nothing meets his eyes that proclaims of ancient civilization, and well may he question if ever any scion of the solar or the lunar race dwelt amid the people of Bengal. Even history does not afford many names of places in lower Bengal of truly ancient times. Ságar Island, it is true, was known some two thousand years ago, but not as a royal city or a flourishing port, but only as the abode of a hermit. Nuddea was the capital of the Sena Rájás when Bakhtiár Khiliji invaded this country, but the Bhágirathí has since so often shifted her course, and so completely washed away every vestige of the lofty halls and the proud battlements which owned the descendants of Ádis'úra for their lords, that it is impossible now to determine its exact locale. Of other places in the Delta, the history is equally uncertain and unsatisfactory.

But if we know not enough and have no relic of ancient Hindu cities in the Gangetic Delta, there are not wanting in it nooks and corners which, without pretending to any time-honored antiquity, may afford materials not altogether uninteresting. The little town of Bágerhát is one of them; and to a few remains of its former greatness I wish to draw the attention of the readers of the Journal, in the following pages.

The town of Bágerhát is situated on the bank of the Bhairab, a sluggish stream, 50 miles, as the crow flies, to the south east of Jessore. According to the Revenue Survey maps, the latitude of the place is 22° 40′ 10″ N., longitude 89° 49′ 50″ E. When it was first founded, it is impossible now to tell, but it was a place of some note more than

four hundred years ago; for I find that about that time one Khán Jahán *alias* Khánjá Ally, a chief of great piety and liberality, who was rusticated from the court of Delhi, was sent to this place to hold the post of a tehsildar. Many fine buildings and stately mosques were erected under his auspices, and the place was in every respect greatly improved. What was its name then, I cannot now ascertain; the inscriptions that I have examined to find it out, being altogether silent on the subject. Its present name is but of yesterday. It was given to it long after its glories had passed away, and its history forgotten. A deserted village on the outskirts of the Sunderbunds, its humble inhabitants needed but the aid of a poor bi-weekly fair to supply their wants; that fair was, and is still, held on a raised spot on the river-bank where once stood the pleasure ground of Khán Jahán. The illiterate dealers and pedlars who frequented it to sell their goods called it the 'garden fair,' *Báger hát*, and the name was adopted by Government when, in May, 1863, it was made the head quarters of a magisterial sub-division.

From the few traces still visible I believe the garden must have, at one time, included an area of about 200 biggahs. On one side of it there was, until recently, a dirty putrifying tank overgrown with jungle, which in olden times must have been a pleasant sheet of water; and on the other a mound, probably the debris of what once was a summer house. Traces of metalled footpaths are met with at different places, as also the remains of a high road, 30 feet broad, made of well-burnt bricks placed on edge, which, it is said, formerly extended from this place to Chittagong.

Three miles to the west of the garden, there is a large tank, over a hundred biggahs square, noted for its sweet water and a number of tame crocodiles. I had no opportunity to ascertain its size, but judging from the impression its sight produced on me and from memory, I believe it is fully as large as the Pála Diggi near Murshidábád, and nearly as large as the Mahipál Diggi in Dinagepur. Bábu Guru Churn Doss, Deputy Magistrate of Jangipur, in a letter published in the Society's Proceedings for October 1862, says that "it must be in size equal to, if not larger than, that in the Dilkosh Baug of the Raja of Burdwan." But as the tank under notice has silted up and its water has receded much from the original banks, it is not easy

to ascertain its original size. In the height of the dry season in April last the sheet of water measured 1,560 feet square. Its excavation is popularly ascribed to Khánjá Ally. It is said that that chief, being very much troubled from want of good potable water, obtained the sanction of the king of Gour, and caused this tank to be excavated; and that when he found its water to be brackish, improved it considerably by pouring in it a large quantity of mercury, which, it is said, is a most efficacious antidote to brackishness. This story, however, is not sufficiently romantic to please the simple people of the district, and a sheet of sweet water in a place noted for its saline soil being an uncommon wonder, another has been set in currency for their edification. According to it, when the tank had been dug to a great depth, the workmen came to a perfect temple, with its doors closed from within, which no efforts of theirs could unlock. Message was therefore sent to Khánjá Ally, who, mounted on a swift horse, approached the temple, and struck it with his wand. Anon flew open the doors, and he beheld, within, a Fakir seated at his ease before a lively fire, and smoking his hukka. Khánjá Ally saluted him and asked his blessing, to secure a tank full of good water. The Fakir said that he had built the temple on the banks of the Bhairab as a place of retirement, and had just roused himself from a protracted meditation to collect food for a meal. He little thought that during his state of abstraction so much earth had accumulated over his temple as to admit of a deep tank being excavated. However since it was so, good water would immediately be produced, but Khánjá Ally should fly for life, or the rising spring would drown him. Nor was the latter unprovided for such a contingency. His horse was the swiftest on earth, and it bore him through the water to dry land in a twinkling. This story suggests the idea, that when the tank was excavated, traces of a building were found in its bed; and considering the frequency with which old bricks and broken pottery are met with in the Sunderbunds, such an idea would be by no means unreasonable.

I have said above that the tank is noted for its tame crocodiles, and well it may be, for nowhere else have I met with a more wonderful instance of the influence which the human mind can exert over the saurian. Upwards of twenty monsters, from 10 to 20 feet long, may here be seen rising and sinking in the water with the docility of a child,

at the beck of a puny miserable-looking Fakir who could not resist a rap from the tail of the smallest of them. They are fed with live fowls and kids, and they unhesitatingly come close by dry land to receive them. Meat is offered to them on the palm of the hand, which they quietly take away, without ever snapping at the hands themselves. Little children play about on the bank without any risk; and men, women and children bathe in the tank without ever having to repent of their temerity.

Some time ago a rumour was brought to the notice of Government that infanticide was committed in this part of the Sunderbunds, and I was directed to make an inquiry. But I found it was unfounded; the fact appeared to be that the simple people of the district believe that these crocodiles can bless young ladies to come into an interesting condition, and their blessings are sure to bear fruit. Accordingly many young women repair to this place to bathe in the sacred water of the tank, and implore the blessing of the saurian monsters. They offer them fowls and kids; then paint a human figure with red lead on a stone pillar in the neighbourhood, and, embracing it, vow to give away to the crocodiles the first fruit of their blessings. This vow is never broken, the firstborn is invariably brought to the tank, and when, at the call of the Fakirs, the crocodiles rise to the surface, the child is thrown on the water's edge with words implying a presentation. But it is taken up immediately after, and borne home amid the rejoicings of the family. I could find no proof to shew that any child had ever suffered from this exposure.

Parents whose children die early also often seek the blessings of these crocodiles, by exposing their infants on the bank of the lake.

There is another source whence has arisen the notoriety of Bágerhát as a place for infanticide. The Fakírs and Sanyásis who live in the adjacent part of the Sunderbunds, have a high reputation for supernatural powers in healing the sick; hence, whenever a child is afflicted with any uncommon or mortal malady, or born with any permanent infirmity, such as dumbness, deafness, or blindness, and frequently when medicines have failed (and the pharmacopœia of an ordinary native village, which embraces only a few simples, is soon exhausted) the superhuman aid of those worthies is sought with all the blind faith of veneration which characterises an ignorant and

superstitious race. Parents from different parts of Jessore, Pubna, Farrídpur and Backerganj repair to this place, and occasionally leave their children with the Fakirs, in the hope of their taking pity on the sufferers, and curing their afflictions. This is generally a temporary arrangement, and the little ones are taken home as soon as they are cured, and often long before, if the hope of recovery become faint or fail. Rarely one out of several sons is, in fulfilment of a vow, dedicated to the service of religion, to be brought up amongst the Fakírs; but never is a child abandoned in the tank, or in the neighbouring jungle, with a view to destruction.

Close by and to the north of the tank there is a large tomb which holds in its centre the mortal remains of Khán Jahán. It is built of remarkably well-burnt bricks of a large size, and strengthened by stone boulders in some of the piers. In style it differs little from similar structures in other parts of Bengal—a square of 45 feet, having a central hall along the whole length, and connected with two side aisles by open archways. The exterior has an arched doorway on each side, the north being closed. The height is 47 feet to the top of the dome, which is a well proportioned structure, somewhat pointed at the top, and seated on a collar high enough to raise it above the line of the cornice without itself being offensively prominent.

The plastering of the building has peeled off in many places, but from what remains it is evident that the builder was perfectly familiar with the art by which the masons of Delhi of that time gave a marble-like smoothness and polish to chunam work. The steps round the grave are inlaid with encaustic tiles of various colours, the richness of which has withstood the wear and tear of four hundred years without any serious damage. Some of the tiles are hexagons 4 inches across, while others are squares of $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches each side. The substance of the latter is a white stone ware, and the enamelling on it is of a character which makes me suspect these tiles to have been imported from China. The former are of red earth, and the glazing and designs on them are of inferior execution. Their counterparts are commonly met with in Pathan buildings in Gour and elsewhere. The art of making these tiles has now been lost to the natives; the only remains of it are to be met with among the potters of Murshidábád and Bírbhúm, who apply a glazing of some consistency in blue, green and white,

on the kalkis or tobacco-bowls of ordinary Mahomedan hukkas, as also on a common musical instrument called the báyáñ.

The grave of Khán Jahán is placed in the middle of the hall, and is covered by a large slab of pure white Jeypur marble, raised on three masonry steps inlaid with encaustic tiles. It was erected in the year of Hijira 863 = A. D. 1458,—just 409 years ago. According to popular belief, the tomb was built in the lifetime and at the expense of the Khán, who departed this life on the night of Wednesday the 26th of Jilhijja *i. e.* about the end of March or the beginning of April. The epitaph is in Arabic, inscribed in golden letters, and, like most epitaphs, is brimful of nauseating praise (vide Appendix A), but the Khán in popular estimation was not unworthy of it. In his lifetime he was reckoned a saint, and to this day he is worshipped as such by Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Flowers are strewn over his grave every day by the attendant Fakirs, and pilgrims from various parts of eastern Bengal come all round the year to offer to it their salutations. On the full moon of Chaitra, supposed to be the anniversary of the Khán's death, a grand mela is held near the tomb, when over ten thousand people assemble to commemorate his piety and sanctity.

On the sides of the grave-stone, there are four different inscriptions, copies of which I also annex (Appendixes B to E). Three quotations from the Koran are also given, but these I did not deem worth copying. The only available article of interest in the building was an old curiously-carved Koran-stand, which I brought away for deposit in the museum of the Asiatic Society; as the stand was never used by anybody, the sacrilegious hands I put on it, will, I fancy, cause no inconvenience to the faithful.

In the side-aisles there are three or four graves, but without inscriptions, and the attendants could give no reliable account of the people whose bodies rest in them.

The tomb is situated in a large quadrangle surrounded by a masonry wall. Within this enclosure there are several graves, but of no historical or artistic importance. There is, however, a small cenotaph on the north side which is worthy of a short notice. If is of modest size and no architectural pretension; but it was built by a zealot, one Mohammed Taer *alias* Pír Ally by name, whose religious fervour forced

the conversion of many a Hindu to the Mahomedan faith. Himself a renegade from the religion of his Hindu forefathers, he acquired a high reputation for sanctity, and maintained it by a strict observance of the ordinances of his adopted religion.

According to tradition he was sent for to Delhi, and for some reason or other, there beheaded by order of the emperor. He is said to have once heard from a Brahmin of high caste and great influence, one Naranáráyana Ráya, that "smelling was half eating," whereupon he caused some cooked meat to be brought to his presence. The Brahman by his side perceived the smell, and immediately covered his nose with his cloth; but it was too late, the wily Mahomedan urged that by his own shewing he had "half eaten," and must therefore cease to be of the orthodox creed. He was accordingly outcasted, and his descendants to this day are known as Pirális or Pir Ally Brahmans. Puerile as the story is, it is worthy of note that all the Piralis of Bengal trace their original seat to Jessore, and no Piráli is to be met with in the eastern or the northern districts. One of the ancestors of the present Tagore family of Calcutta first associated with Naranáráyana, and he and his descendants have ever since been called Pirális. Such Káyasthas as associated with these degraded and proscribed Brahmans, were subjected to the same penalty, and are to this day known by the name of the wicked Pír. Their number, however, is very limited, and they are met with in no other district except in Jessore.

Three miles to the south-west of this tomb, there is a magnificent mosque, commonly known by the name of *Sátgumbaz*, or the mosque of 60 domes. It is an open arcaded structure, formed of massive walls six feet thick, and having on the top 77 small domes supported on sixty pillars. The ground plan is an oblong of 144 feet by 96, divided into seven aisles by six rows of pillars. The foundation and the domes are of brick; while of the pillars some are of brick, and others of stone. Like all other Mahomedan mosques in India, the *Sátgumbaz* has its front to the east, thereby enabling the faithful to pray with their faces towards the K'ábá at Mecca. The number of archways on this side is 11, of which the second and the tenth are closed with masonry, the same arrangement obtains on the opposite wall, the Mulla's pulpit being placed by the side of the central archway. On the north and the south façades there are 14 arches, 7 on each side, the

height being 15 feet to the point of the arch. The building is flanked by four massive towers which rise above the line of the domes. Two of them enclose winding staircases ; that to the south-east being very dark and steep, while the one on the north-east is well lighted and easy of ascent. The people call the former *Andhár Mánik* and the latter *Raushan Mánik*. Altogether the building has a grand and imposing appearance, and even in a more favoured locality than Bágerhát would command admiration, and be reckoned as an object worthy of notice. It was evidenly intended for a jummah masjid or Friday mosque.

The only other object which has been associated with the memory of Khánjá Ally and which demands a passing notice, is a physical phenomenon of some interest. It is a dull roaring sound, as of the booming of distant cannonade, which is said to be fired by aerial hands in honour of Khánjá Ally. At Bágerhát, those sounds are heard at all times of the year ; particularly when the weather is calm and the sky clear. It is most distinct during a lull after a storm or a heavy shower of rain. At Burrisal they are equally prominent, and noticed with great curiosity. Various theories have been hazarded to account for the phenomenon. Mr. Pellew, the superintendent of survey at Burrisal, in a letter to me, says—

" What you allude to must be the ' Burrisal guns,' which are heard all over south Jessore and Backerganj, at least in the neighbourhood of the Baleswar. They are distinctly heard at Burrisal. I have never heard them myself west of Morellganj. My own idea is, that they are perhaps the sound of heavy surf. My reasons for supposing this (of course I am by no means certain) are as follows. The noise exactly resembles the sound of surf as heard often by me at Pooree under certain circumstances, viz. when, on account of a cessation of the south-west monsoon, the swell rises to an unusual height before breaking, and then breaks simultaneously for perhaps a length of three miles of coast. I have often been woke from my sleep by the thunder of these waves, when breaking in this manner. As regards the succession of 10 or 11 reports, we all know that waves generally break successively along a beach, and at the distance the listener is from the sea these would appear equally loud.

" 2nd. Reason. The further south I go, the louder the reports are, and the more unequal in power (this I have not tested quite sufficiently).

"3rd. There is a story (to which you allude) of a Collector sending down people in a boat to find out about its whereabouts, who heard the noise always to their south, till they reached the Hurungotta, and were compelled by the weather and sea to return.

"4th. The general belief in natives that they are not marriage guns.

"5th. The dissimilarity between the sound and that of marriage guns, noticed by all who hear them.

"6th. The fact that sound would be conveyed very far by the south-west monsoon along the surface of the large rivers of Backerganj. They are generally heard in a lull after a squall, at least I think so, just when the surf breaks most regularly and simultaneously. I am sorry I have no more certainty to give you."

The cause above assigned to the sounds by Mr. Pellew may be the right one, but the reasons he has adduced, plausible as they are, do not seem to be conclusive. It may fairly be argued that had the sound been produced by the surf, they would have been noticed near the seashore, wherever there is a low beach. Such, however, is not the case. I have nowhere read of such sounds in books, and never heard them anywhere beyond the mouths of the Ganges.

At Balasore, which is only seven miles from the Bay, they are never noticed. Mr. Pellew says that a sound similar to the "marriage guns" of Burrisal is heard at Pooree, which is occasioned by the breaking of the swell on the beach, during a certain time; but it is not a constant occurrence. During my stay for more than two months at Basdebpur, a village five miles from the sea between Bhadrak and Soroh, I never heard a report of the kind, though the surf rises and breaks on the beach with equal or perhaps more violence, during all seasons. Even at places near to Bágerhát, or in other parts of the Sunderbuns equally distant from the shore of the bay, the noise is not audible; and the only tract which enjoys the honour of these salutes is that which extends from the eastern border, from the river Baleswar to the foot of the Chittagong hills.

I had an opportunity of going down as far as "Tiger's Point," and I carefully watched the phenomenon, but I did not notice that the sounds became louder and louder as my boat drifted down from Morellganj to the mouth of the Huranghátá. This would lead to the

inference that the swell of the sea was not the cause of the sounds, and it is possible that they may be due to some subterranean or volcanic agency, the nature of which we have not the means now to ascertain. It is one, however, which is well worthy the attention of scientific men.

APPENDICES.

A.

إِنْتَقَلَ الْعَبْدُ الضَّعِيفُ الْمُحْتَاجُ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الْمُحِبِّ لِأَوْلَادِ سَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ المخلص للعلماء الراشدين المبغض للكفار و المشركين * المعين لله سلام و المسلمين الخ خان جهان علية الرحمة و الغفران من دارالدنيا الى دارالبقا ليلة الاربعاء ستة و عشرين من ذى الحجة ودفن يوم الخميس في صبح و عشرين منه سنة ثلث و ستين و ثمانماية *

B.

مَنْ مَاتَ غَرِيباً فَقَدْ مَاتَ شَهِيداً *

C.

الدنيا اولها بكاءٌ واوسطها عناءٌ و اخرها فناءٌ

D.

هذه روضة مباركة من رياض الجنة لخان الاعظم خان جهان علية الرحمة والرضوان تحريراً في * ست و عشرين من ذى الحجة سنة ثلث وستين و ثمانمائة *

E.

یاد آورید ای دوستان الموت حق الموت حق
خار است اندر بوستان الموت حق الموت حق
مرگست خصمی محکمي پجمله جانان زویقین
نے همچو دیگر دشمنان الموت حق الموت حق *

On the Transliteration of Indian Alphabets in the Roman Character. —*By* F. S. Growse, *M. A.* Oxon, *B. C. S.*

[Received 5th January, 1867.]

The question of transliteration has been so fully discussed at recent meetings of this Society, that a paper which attempted to revive the subject would probably meet with scant consideration. I am also myself of opinion that the theory has been discussed more than enough, and only wish on the present occasion to state briefly a plain matter of fact, and make a practical suggestion.

It is impossible for any one, however imbued with phonetic prejudices, to deny that all European philologists and oriental scholars have, by mutual consent, adopted a uniform system of representing Indian alphabets in Roman characters, which varies only in some few and unimportant particulars. As to the vowels, there is at the present day no dispute at all; for that intensely insular peculiarity of denoting the simple sounds of *i* and *u* by the awkward combinations of double *e* and double *o* is now quite obsolete in the literary world. I have not seen any recent oriental work from the French press, and therefore cannot tell whether their practice of representing *u* by *ou* has been abandoned or not; but this at all events is a feature which is not likely to be imitated by English writers. As to the consonants, there are some few, but very few, points which are still left open: thus the palatal sibilant is generally denoted in England by *s* with a stroke over or dot below it, while continental scholars prefer the symbol *ç*; again the compound which English scholars represent by *ksh* is on the continent represented occasionally by *x*, more frequently by *csch*, which latter is not likely to find many advocates out of Germany. Thus too in the Persian alphabet, the Arabic *káf* is sometimes denoted by *q*, but more usually by *k* with a dot under it; and the final consonant *he* is sometimes expressed by the vowel *a* alone, sometimes by *ah*. But it is really unnecessary for us to regard these minor discrepancies, since they do not appear in what may be called our natural authorities. For I suppose it will be admitted that Forbes's is the standard dictionary for modern Hindustani; while the last complete Sanskrit dictionary is Prof. Benfey's, published in London during the year 1866, and the greatest work ever yet undertaken for the elucidation of that language is the

gigantic cyclopædia of Dr. Goldstücker, which, if ever completed, will most assuredly be universally accepted as the standard authority on all points of Sanskrit learning. In these three works, by three different authors, we find one uniform system of transliteration without a single point of difference, except as regards one solitary letter, viz. the palatal sibilant. This, Forbes, in accordance with modern pronunciation, represents by *sh*, while Benfey denotes it by *ç* and Goldstücker by *s'*. It appears to me that since we have such authorities as these, our course is plain; for who is to establish rules of orthography, if lexicographers are not? I therefore think that the recent discussions on the subject by this Society are to be regretted,* since they had a tendency to re-open a question which had virtually been long settled, and, by ignoring an established fact, to throw a check in the way of educational progress.

That many and serious inconveniences result from the want of system that now prevails in India on this matter is undeniable, and a remedy is daily becoming more urgently required. For many registers of native names have now to be kept in Roman characters, and the whole object of alphabetical arrangement is frustrated so long as it remains uncertain whether *amrit* is to be looked for under letter *a* or letter *u*, and whether a person spells his name as *Devi-dín* or *Dabi-deen*. And this difficulty is one entirely of our own creation; for although in English, where the orthography of proper names is altogether arbitrary, it is quite possible for a highly educated man, in writing down a list of persons from dictation, to mis-spell every word, in a catalogue of Hindu names there is no such danger. Every personal appellation is also a literary term, with a definite meaning and invariable form; and therefore any one, having a very moderate acquaintance with Indian history and mythology, would be competent to write a long list of names with unerring precision; and there is no excuse for the carelessness which makes an array of the names and titles of native gentlemen in the Government Gazette look like a roll-call of South Sea savages. It will be found that almost all names resolve themselves into one of the following categories: 1st, and most common of all, the name of some popular hero or divinity standing

* The object of the discussions here referred to, was to determine whether European technical terms should be translated or transliterated into the Indian vernaculars.—Ed.

simply by itself, as Lakshman, Baladeva; 2nd, a similar name with the addition of some word denoting 'disciple' or 'by the favour of,' as Bhagawán-dás, Rám-saháy, Hanumán-Prasád, Gauri-datt; 3rd, some one of the thousand epithets appropriated to the leading characters of the Hindu Pantheon, as Niranjan, the unimpassioned; Chakrapáṇi, the discus-holder; Bansi-dhar, the flute-player, *i. e.* Kṛishṇa; 4th, the name of some one of the appliances of ritual worship, as Tulsi, Sálagrám, Vibhúti; 5th, some word expressing beauty or other excellent quality, as Nawal, Sundar, Kirat; 6th, some heroic or honorific title as Randhír, "the staunch in fight," corresponding to the Homeric "meneptolemus;" Khaṛagjít, the conquering swordsman; Mahábali, the greatly valiant; Anúp, the incomparable; 7th, the name of some precious material, as Híra, a diamond; Moti, a pearl; Kánchan, gold; 8th and strangest of all, some affectionate diminutive, as Nek Rám, a little Rám; Chhote Lál, a little dear, Nanku, a darling. In the village patois, it is true, many of these names ordinarily appear in a very corrupt form, but even these corruptions are reducible to the following simple rule, viz. that the first syllable of the word only be retained unimpaired, and an open vowel substituted for the whole of the termination; thus Kalyán becomes Kalu, Bhagiratha, Bhagi, and Nayanasukh, Nainu. But these diminutives correspond simply to our English Bob, Dick and Tom, and have no right to be included in a formal catalogue of names. The enforcement of a correct system of transliteration would naturally be opposed by all who are too indolent to acquire a rational knowledge of the language, or who choose to diversify their style by the simple expedient of spelling the same word two or three different ways in one paragraph; but the present slovenly system, or want of system, is not only a practical inconvenience, but is also a disgrace to an educated government.

But, it may be urged, perfect precision is no doubt desirable in scientific treatises, but would be pedantic in ordinary writing. Now can any parallel be found to such a state of things as this argument supposes? Every language has recognized laws of spelling, which the uneducated classes in practice frequently transgress; but has any government on that account determined to class itself amongst the illiterate, and to relegate orthography to the professedly learned?

The Government of India stands alone in this extraordinary patronage of a barbarous nomenclature which excites the ridicule of every European scholar.

In one of the recent discussions on the subject, I remember that Dr. Lees gave a very good illustration of the results of this lax mode of spelling, quoting several Indian words from a 17th century traveller, which were so much disguised by their Roman garb, that identification was impossible. But by a curious perversion of logic, the speaker proceeded to argue the inexpediency of transliteration at all; whereas the illustration only showed the evil of not having a definite standard: for if each Indian letter had its acknowledged Roman equivalent, every word would be as intelligible in its Roman as in its Indian form. I would therefore suggest that the Asiatic Society should print in a tabular form the Roman, Nágari and Persian alphabets* as arranged by the eminent lexicographers abovenamed and approved by Prof. Max Müller, the greatest of modern philologists; and that this table should be occasionally appended to the Nos. of the Society's Proceedings, and every writer expected to modify his phonetic vagaries accordingly. It certainly does not appear unreasonable to require that the contributors to a scientific and literary journal should master the first rudiments of orthography, before they proceed to discuss abstruse questions of philosophy and literary history; and a writer who appears in print under the auspices of a learned Society should feel it as strange to put down *chatta poker* for *chhatra pokhar* as to spell "umbrella," *umbreller*. I think too that, if a more frequent reference to a Dictionary were rendered necessary, articles would not be forwarded for publication in such a very crude state as is now sometimes the case. Thus in the last No. of the Philological Journal, the same distinguished officer, who writes *chatta poker* and *Machowa* and *Cuchowa* for Matsya and Kachchhapa, begins his paper with a lengthy speculation about "a race called variously Serap, Serab, Serak, Sráwaka, who were probably the earliest Aryan colonists," and another race called Bhumij, without apparently any idea, at the time of writing, that Sráwaka is the ordinary Sanskrit name for a Jain or Buddhist, and that the literal meaning of Bhumij is the earth-born, Autochthones, Aborigines. The identity of the Jain and

* This has already been done.—Ed.

Srâwaka is in a confused manner indicated before the conclusion of the article, but without recognizing the fact that the name (literally "a hearer") indicates a purely religious distinction, and that it does not imply a difference of race any more than the term "Roman Catholic" implies an Italian by descent.

I may here incidentally observe that in this district (Mainpuri) the Jains, who form a considerable item in the population, are known popularly only by the name of Saráugis, which also is clearly a corruption of the same word Srâwaka. Their habits and customs are of course the same as those described by Col. Dalton.

If my suggestion as above were adopted by the Society, the same principle would be consistently carried out in compiling the list of members with their places of residence, where we should no longer see Bábu alternating with Baboo (the latter invariably suggesting the loss of a final *n*) and the first step might be taken towards the correction of our present barbarous local nomenclature. Our maps are no doubt admirable as results of engineering skill, but in a literary point of view, they are ridiculous,—a large proportion of local names, especially Hindi words, being utterly distorted from the original form. Thus for instance, I have never yet seen a map where the common village name Kushalpur was not spelt with an initial Persian *kh*, as if it were a derivative of *khush ;* and yet it might be supposed that if any Hindi word were to be allowed to retain its identity, it would be the name of a district so famous in ancient legend as Kos'ala, which had Ayodhyá for its capital, and gave a name to the mother of the national hero Ráma. Upon this point I cannot do better than quote the words of the late Prof. Wilson, who, describing Indian maps as miserably defective in their nomenclature, says, "None of our surveyors or geographers have been oriental scholars. It may be doubted if any of them have been conversant with the spoken language of the country. They have consequently put down names at random, according to their own inaccurate appreciation of sounds, carelessly, vulgarly and corruptly uttered; and their maps of India are crowded with appellations which bear no similitude either to past or present denominations. There is scarcely a name in our maps, that does not afford proof of extreme indifference to accuracy, and of an incorrectness in estimating sounds which is in some degree perhaps a national

defect." It may be necessary to take with some modification, at the present day, the above severe reflections on the ignorance of our surveying officers; but whatever their knowledge, it is evident that they have not had sufficient courage to deviate from the traditional groove of barbarism. To initiate a reform in this direction, is an undertaking well worthy the highest efforts of the Asiatic Society. But the whole question has been treated so often, that there is no occasion for further words; it only remains for some definite action to be taken.

On the other hand, equal carelessness and neglect of philological principles are displayed in the ordinary modes of representing English words in Nágari characters: thus the names of the four months September, October, November, and December are frequently so spelt in Hindi translations, as quite to obscure the fact that they are identically the same as the vernacular Saptami, Ashtami, Navami, Dasami. It has also become a uniform practice to represent the English *t* on all occasions by the letter ट; thus ignoring the fact that in the English alphabet the one symbol does double duty, and our pronunciation of it varies, though perhaps unconsciously, in different words, accordingly as it has a *murdhanya* or simply dental power. For instance, the name Victoria is, so far as my experience goes, invariably written with the ट, though most incorrectly so; for both in meaning and derivation, it corresponds precisely to the common appellation Vijay, the *j* by an invariable rule becoming *k* before dental *t*; while *k* with murdhanya *t* is an impossible compound, and a short vowel would have to be introduced between the two consonants, before they could be pronounced. Indeed Her Majesty may reasonably complain of the injurious treatment she receives here in India: for not only is her name misspelt, but her royal title also is most grossly misrepresented. The crafty Musalman, whoever he was, who first suggested the preposterous expression *málikú mu'ázzam*, must, when he found it adopted, have chuckled immensely over the indignity he was passing on the Queen of the unbelievers. Fortunately, the phrase is so thoroughly outlandish, that it practically conveys no meaning in this country; though any Arab chief who heard it would derive from it a strangely derogatory idea of the Empress of India. I remember reading an article, which appeared in England about a year ago, taking this phrase

as an illustration of our special linguistic clumsiness, as contrasted with Russian tact, and pointing out the considerable advantage which they thus enjoyed over us in impressing the oriental imagination. For my own part, I am quite unable to see any valid reason why the well-known and dignified word *pádsháh* should not be used, at least on all ordinary occasions, where no reference is made to the sex of the sovereign, as in the superscripture of service letters, or the wording of legal documents.

As change of circumstances, or the development of European ideas, involves an occasional necessity for enlarging the vernacular nomenclature, I would suggest that this coinage of words, hitherto characterised by the most signal failures, should be transferred from the Government mint to the care of the Asiatic Society, and that a Philological Committee should be allowed to express their opinion before any new issue was definitely stamped and authoritatively circulated. The last new word that has been forced down the throats of the people is *numáish-gah*, the principal result at present of the fashionable exhibition epidemic. It is a compound, for which it would be perfectly useless to look in any Hindustani Dictionary, and in fact has never had any existence in the country. As yet its use is exclusively confined to the Munshi class, who, in order to define its meaning, invariably prefix the word *mela*, and I believe consider it only the Government synonym for a *tamásha* of any kind, in the same way as *sirika* is the Government expression for what every one in his senses calls *chori*. Thus, during the grand Darbár at Agra, I had petitions from *mukhtárs*, explaining their clients' absence on the ground that they had gone to the "Agra numaish-gáh." With the people at large the word *melá* appears to answer every necessary purpose; or if greater precision is desired, *sarkári melá* is employed. And although some more adequate expression might no doubt be evolved by a due exercise of the critical faculty, I consider this indigenous product is at all events better than the official exotic. Several other subjects suggest themselves for animadversion, but my remarks have extended far beyond the limit I originally intended, and some of the points already noticed may appear too minute to deserve serious attention. Yet, if philology is worth studying at all, it is certainly worth while to recognize its rules in practice.

Literary and Miscellaneous Intelligence.

A catalogue of the Vernacular Publications of the Bombay Presidency has just been brought out by Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. It embraces the names of 1679 books of which 175 are in Sanscrit, 660 in Marhatti, 628 in Guzrati, 49 in Canarese, and 43 in Sindhi. Of Zend books there are 4, and of Pehlevi 1, being the Pehlevi version of the Zendavesta. Prefixed to the catalogue are two interesting essays by Professor F. Kielhorn and Mr. M. G. Ránáde, on its Sanskrit and Marathi portions.

Mr. J. Beames has just published a short introduction to the study of Indian Philology, with a map shewing the distritution of Indian languages. It is intended to be a guide to those "who, having no knowledge of Linguistic Science, wish to record and preserve dialects of obscure and uncivilised tribes with whom they may come into contact; or any of the countless local peculiarities of the leading Indian languages which may be spoken in their neighbourhood."

The following is an Extract from a letter from Major General A. Cunningham to Colonel C. S. Guthrie, on a large gold Eucratides lately brought to England.

"But what is a double gold-mohur compared to the great gold Eucratides which has just been brought from Bokhara by Aga Zebalun Bokhâri? It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and weighs *ten staters*, or *eleven guineas?* It has the usual helmeted head on one side, with the horsemen and inscription on the reverse. The owner has refused 700£ for it. It is genuine—and beats all the Greek coins hitherto discovered.

"I have three specimens of a new Greek King, Apollophanes, and some rude coins of Strato with the title of Philopator, which is translated *priyapitá*, lover of his father. Please tell Grote of these Bactrian novelties."

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On the Arabic Element in Official Hindustani.—No. 2. *By* J. BEAMES, *Esq.*, *B. C. S.*

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"If Hindustani, adopted by us as the future general language of India, is to be a language and not a jargon, it must become so by means of its alliance with Persian, the speech which all Indian Mahomedans have at their heart, and use as the feeder, or channel of other feeders, for all their abstract thought, their politics, science, and poetry."*

This extract serves as a fitting text to the subject which it is my aim to illustrate. In a former paper I gave an outline of some arguments in favour of the present Arabicized dialect of our courts, and as the little literature which the language possesses is written in the same style, the following remarks may be considered as applicable to the literary style also. In the present I propose to review the assertions of the upholders of the opposite opinion, which may briefly, and I trust fairly, be stated thus:—In writing or

* Quarterly Review No. 234, page 517 on "Vámbéry's Travels in Central Asia."

speaking Hindustani, if you have two words to choose between, one Hindi or Sanskrit, and the other Persian or Arabic, it is better and less artificial to use the former; and the Arabic and Persian words already in use in Urdu are for the most part wrongly used, and are often very corrupt forms of the genuine words. There are thus two arguments: the first, a political; the second, scientific. I will examine the political or historical argument first. But I must premise that I consider the whole question as one for the student rather than the statesman. Dr. Fallon, a vigorous partizan of the Hindi school, writes, somewhat complacently, thus:* "The Urdu language needs direction; but the natives have neither taste nor learning for such a work. The task must be performed by European scholars, and the Government of the country." I would ask the author whether, in all the range of his comprehensive reading, he has ever met with an instance of a language having been created or guided by foreign scholars, or licked into shape by a Government. Is language, like law, a political creation? Does it not rather grow up in the homes of the people? Is it not hewn out of their rough untutored conceptions? Does not its value consist in its spontaneous and unconscious growth? Are not its very irregularities and errors, proofs of the want of design that attends its formation?

Or again, can a stranger guide the native mother in choosing how to talk to her child? If it be difficult for foreigners to influence a language in a country where women enjoy the same freedom as men, how much more hopeless is the task in a country like this, where the mothers of the people are inaccessible and invisible?

No, we cannot influence the speech of this people; they have formed it for themselves; they have, before we came on the scene, chosen Arabic and rejected Hindi. It is not true to say that they prefer Hindi, and that we have forced on them Arabic. It is not correct to say that pedantic munshis have created for the use of the European officer a dialect unknown to the majority of the people, and the use of which severs him from them, and gives the keys of communication into the hands of a single class. The use of Arabic and Persian words pervades every class. I, and many other officers, know that

* English-Hindustani Law and Commercial Dictionary by S. W. Fallon, Introductory Dissertation, p. xviii. ad fin.

when we go alone and unattended into a native village, we can converse readily with the commonest people; and I have found the Arabicized style, which I, from deliberate preference, always employ, quite intelligible to the ryot and the bunnia. This people formed their own language, and we may rest assured they will continue to develop it in that direction which they feel to be best. It is true that Hindi is the speech of the lower classes, but how many Arabic words have invaded even the lowest Hindi, because the national feeling has adopted Arabic as a sign of cultivation. The scholar may lament that it is so, just as some scholars lament the disuse of Saxon words in English, but the lamentations of the scholar do not hinder the progress of the language.

"Hindi is more native to the soil, and lies closer to the hearts of the people than Arabic or Persian, and its use is therefore preferable to that of the last named languages." This is the *political* argument of the Hindi school. Dr. Fallon* puts it thus: "Hosts of Persian and Arabic words have been introduced *by natives of the country* (the italics are mine) who affect a foreign tongue, and make transfers in the mass out of worthless books imperfectly understood. The true vernacular is overwhelmed, thrust aside, and scornfully ignored." And again, "The vocabulary of the Indian Courts of Judicature is not absolutely without a few Hindi phrases. Still, a very large proportion of good Hindi is systematically excluded by ignorance or bad taste, or, worse still, from corrupt design. Words which are continually in the mouths of the people, the current speech in which men in town and country buy and sell and transact business, the mother-tongue of the peasantry and indeed of the great bulk of the nation is repudiated for a foreign, high-sounding phraseology. But a people's vocabulary is not so to be set aside. The few have seldom yet succeeded in substituting their language for the language of the many. Beaten off from the courts and public offices, native Hindi still lives in the busy mart, and in the familiarities of social and domestic life. In the pithy sayings, proverbs, and national songs of the country, dwells a spirit and an influence beside which the foreign and less familiar speech seems feeble and flat. These Hindi phrases have deep roots in the habits and associations of the people. They come

* Dissertation pp. xii. xiii.

home to the feelings and the understanding of the highest and the lowest. They possess a living power, universality and force of expression, which can never belong to the Arabic and Persian platitudes that are thrust in their place."

Now all this is very good and very eloquent, but it rests on false assumptions. It assumes that what is true of some classes of the population is true of the whole. It puts aside entirely all the rank and education of the country—it puts the peasant on a pedestal, and requests us to accept the barbarous and antiquated jargon that falls from his lips as the model of our speech, and as the vehicle for the expression of intricate philosophical argument, close legal reasoning, delicate and refined discussion on art, science and politics.

A second erroneous assumption is, that we have to thank our law courts for the abundance of Persian and Arabic terms in use in Hindustani. The fact, however is, that our native clerks use nine-tenths of these words, simply because they have been used for five centuries past as legal terms, and use has conferred on them a conventional meaning, which no other words possess. The native press, in discussing matters of a purely unofficial character, uses the same phraseology. The style of Abul Fazl and the Sih Nasr-i Zahúri is the model of all native composition. And this arises not from pedantry or affectation; the reasons of it are to be sought, first, in the circumstances in which the early Musulman invaders found themselves; and, secondly, in the constitution of native society from those times to this.

Who, then, were the founders of the Urdu language? They were a mass of Turks, Tartars, Persians, Arabs, and Syrians; with whom were amalgamated many of the middle and lower classes of Hindus; principally, perhaps, the adventurous trader, who goes anywhere to gain money, and the idle scum who are always attracted by an army. If we further ask what were the materials from which this heterogeneous mass could compound a *lingua franca*, we find, of indigenous dialects, Sanskrit and Hindi; of extraneous ones, Arabic and Persian, and various Turkish dialects. They had to introduce a new religion, a new government; systems of policy and organization new to India; rules of etiquette; the social habits and refinements of a town life; new articles of clothing, furniture and luxury; philosophical terms; terms to express new processes in the mechanical arts.

To what source should they turn for words to express these ideas? The Brahmin and the Rájput stood aloof from the casteless strangers. Sanskrit therefore was probably very little heard in the camps of the Ghori or the Khilji, and still less in those of Timur or Baber.

Words of Sanskrit origin, but more or less mutilated, were heard from the lips of the lower classes, who also used a vast number of Hindi words, *i. e.* words either of Sanskrit origin or not, but so far altered from their original as to become new words.*

Let us now go through some of the words which we may suppose offered themselves to the invaders as native terms to express their new ideas, and I think it will be seen that none of these words were really available.

In the first place the new religion was Islám. To express the religious duties of that pugnacious creed in anything but Arabic was profanation not to be thought of. Hence the introduction of *masjid*, *namáz*, *rozá*, *kitáb*, *íd*, and the words of this class were unavailable, for even putting aside the profanation, words of Sanskrit origin could not express, because they did not contain, the requisite ideas. If any one doubts this, let him think how far the Sanskrit and Hindi words written below represent the Arabic or Persian.

Masjid	Sanskrit—*mandiram, deválayam ;*
	Hindi—*dewála, maṭh, mandar, shiwála, ṭhákurbári.*
Namáz	S. *prárthaná, nivedanam ;*
	H. *pújá, páṭh.*
Rozá	S. *upavása, upásanam, abhojanam, langhanam ;*
	H. *upás, langhan.*
Kitáb	S. *pustákam, grantham ;*
	H. *pothi, pustak.*
'Id	S. *parvva, utsava, yátrá ;*
	H. *parab, tyohár or tehwár.*

Now it is at once evident that the adoption of any of these words, deeply tinctured with the hues of the Brahminical creed, would at once have been fatal to the genius of Mahomedanism. These Sanskrit words therefore retained their place in the language with reference to

* An example will make the distinction clearer: *Rájá* I should call a Sanskrit word, because it retains its form unaltered; *bilmuháná* I call a Hindi word because its connection with the Sanskrit *avilamba* is, though undoubted, yet not at first sight apparent.

the belief of the Hindu, while for the new Muslim population, the purely Muslim words were retained; and as nothing was displaced to make way for them, they were a clear gain to the language, enabling it to keep pace with the new religious development of the nation at large. Secondly, words relating to the government of the country. The mass of little kingdoms each headed by its petty *rájá*, a puppet whose strings were pulled by his Brahmin ministers, was to give way to the rule of one supreme "father-king," *padsháh*;* who should parcel out his dominions into satrapies or *subás;* and these powerful satraps again would divide their provinces into districts; and the rulers of districts would portion them out into counties, and so on. Divisions of caste were to be ignored, all men were free and equal, on condition of paying their taxes duly. The sovereign acknowledged himself to be under no obligation towards his subjects. He was an absolute despot whose business was to rule, as his people's was to obey. He was, however, expected to be accessible to the meanest of his subjects at certain times, and on the whole to do justice, though after a somewhat random fashion. How utterly inapplicable to such a system and to such a ruler would be the Sanskrit title of *rájá;* what a crowd of ideas and memories of another order of things would such a title bring with it. Would it not lower the great "father-king" to the level of the petty knights he had just destroyed? But the word *rájá*, though inapplicable to the sovereign, was not discarded; it remained as the title of a high order of nobility, as it is to this day, and the Persian terms indicative of sovereignty are therefore positive additions to the language.

It is unnecessary to go in detail through the long list of words relating to government introduced by the invaders. It is evident that a people's language can have no words for ideas or things which do not exist in the country. Especially was this the case in India. Excluded from all but the scantiest commerce with the outer world, India had long believed herself to contain the whole of the inhabited earth, or at least to be the centre and greatest part of it. Like China in the present day, India thought herself "the central flowery land," and had but dim notions of certain "outside barbarians" who led a miserable life on the confines of space. When the new era of a vigor-

* I assume *Padsháh to be* "*pidr-shah,*" father-king, like *Atabeg* or *Abimelech.*

ous civilization and progress dawned on her, she was unprepared to meet it. Her religion, laws, customs and language shrivelled up at once, and slunk into holes and corners, and the statues of her gods which had loomed grand and terrible in the twilight of Brahminism, looked poor, feeble scarecrows in the full blaze of el Islam. The conquerors were but little disposed to adopt the language of the conquered race, but even had they been so, that language afforded them no materials in which to clothe their ideas. Necessity stept in to aid inclination, and the result was a language full of imported words.

"But," it may be urged, "no one objects to a certain number of Arabic and Persian words; many of them are necessary, some even indispensable, to the people: all we object to is the indiscriminate introduction of words which are not necessary, and for which the early Mahomedan invaders are not responsible." I might answer this, by asking the Hindi school to tell me how they know at what date any given word first made its appearance in India? On what grounds do they assert that the simpler and shorter Arabic words were introduced first, and the longer and more complicated ones later? There exists no regular Urdu literature by which we can, as in English, mark the exact epoch of the introduction of a word. And this brings me to my second argument, that, namely, derived from the constitution of native society, during all the years in which the Urdu language has been growing, up to the present time.

The conquerors were essentially one nation, though composed of very mixed elements. If they had adopted the language of the conquered, in a few generations they would have become scarcely intelligible to one another. In the present day an inhabitant of the Punjab just manages to make himself intelligible to a man of Patna by virtue of those few words which are now common to all Indian dialects, namely those of Persian origin, and the Hindi verbs and particles which have, thanks to the Mahomedans, become familiar all over the country. At the time of the first invasions *honá* was not used over a wider area than *bhá, pás* than *bhíre, uská* than *okerá* or *wáká*. As the country was split up into a number of petty kingdoms, so was the language into a mass of dialects. Hindi was not one but many, and so it is to this day. The service which the Mahomedans rendered to India, consisted in their taking one of these many dialects

and making it the vehicle of their Persian and Arabic, and thus distributing it all over India. The Hindustani or Urdu language is therefore, from one point of view, not Persian grafted on Indian, but Indian inserted into Persian. The movement began from above and was imitated by the lower classes.

At an early period of the invasion, large tracts of country were converted to the Muslim faith. All the Punjab west of the Chinab, and a great deal east of that river; all the chief towns in the valley of the Ganges, and many villages in all parts of the country were largely converted; and the conversion went on for centuries, and has not yet ceased. To all these converts Arabic became a sacred tongue, and as such lay and lies as near the hearts of this section of the people as Hindi. Speak to a Mahomedan rustic in Hindi, he understands you and talks to you in the same; but speak to him in Urdu, and he will press into his service every word he knows of Arabic and Persian, to show you that though, through accident of birth, he can only speak a few words of those honored and sacred tongues, he is yet not quite without knowledge of them. The rustic father sends his son to school to the village pedagogue, to learn what? not Hindi, but Arabic and Persian. And then we are told that these languages do not lie near the hearts of the people! Why, I believe if the votes of the whole Mahomedan population could be taken, an overwhelming majority of them would prefer to abandon Hindustani altogether and make Persian the language of the land.

Among the higher classes in towns, who form the most intelligent and cultivated portion of the population, there can be no question whether Urdu or Hindi is most popular. It is in the towns that we find the stronghold of the Musulman, and consequently of Arabicized Urdu. But on what grounds we are asked to set aside the townspeople and all the Mahomedan rural population, together with all cultivated Hindus who try to talk as much Urdu as possible, I do not see. Native society has been for five centuries so thoroughly leavened with the language of the Mogul invader, and the invader has so thoroughly made himself at home in India, and has so successfully maintained the claim of his composite dialect to express the progress and intelligence of the country, that all classes aspire to use it as a sign of good breeding and cultivation.

The language, to quote Dr. Fallon once more, "in which men buy and sell and transact business" is *not* Hindi; it is Urdu. If *man* and *ser* and *chitánk* are Hindi, *kímat* and *nirakh*, *mál*, *saudá*, and *saudágar*, *jins*, *rakm*, *bazár*, and *dukán* are Persian. If *hâṭ* is Hindi, *ganj* is Persian. *Saṛak*, *bail*, and *gáṛi* are Hindi, but *pul*, *saráí* and *manzil* are Persian. And so it runs through all the scenes of common Indian life; you hear everywhere simple Persian words as frequently as Hindi in the mouths of all classes of the people. I appeal to the experience of all who know well the rural districts of this country for confirmation of this assertion.

We may then safely state that to the higher classes throughout the country, to the Mahomedan rustic, to the townsmen in all districts, Urdu is as familiar and as well known; nay, more familiar, than pure unadulterated Hindi. It remains only to discuss the question as regards the *Hindu* peasant. And it is in this connection that the want of uniformity between the various Hindi dialects requires to be brought out in a stronger light. Hindi is not one, but many. If we follow the advice of our purists, and try to talk and write only pure Hindi, we abandon the possibility of retaining one universally intelligible language and fall back into a chaos of a dozen or more different dialects. In advocating the use of Hindi in preference to Arabicized Urdu, Dr. Fallon's school mean by Hindi those portions of Urdu which are of Indian origin; they mean the dialect which uses *wuh*, *yih*, *iská*, *uská*; which says *honá*, *hotá*, *huá*, *karná*, *kiyá*; that dialect which has been incorporated into Urdu: the Hindi, in short, of Delhi and Muttra. But ten miles from Delhi itself I have heard *wáká* for *uská*, *yáká* for *iská*. If we are to reject such forms as these and use only the Delhi Hindi, we are quite as far from reaching the heads and hearts of the mass of the population as ever. The great Bhojpuri dialect, for instance, is spoken throghout eastern Oudh, Gorackpur, Benares, Shahábád, Sarun and Tirhút, and is more unlike the Delhi Hindi than Dutch is unlike English. I would ask a Delhi or upper Doab rustic to interpret the following from the evidence given in court in a dacoity case by a peasant of Champáran. "*Okerá dwáre gárdhá sunilin, sagare log dhdwalan, tán dúi sau jana jamilan, ghare samágelan, sagará dhan, chípá, loṭa, dhán, cháwal sáthi láṭ lelan, dheri toralan, phin niksalan, áru mushál bhig delan, te bhágalan, t'hom a' P'shádwa chahet gelin, t'ekho chor pakaráil gel.*"

This is pretty simple, especially when written down clearly on paper, but when heard from the mouth of the witness, mumbled and half pronounced and spoken with the rapidity of a steam-engine, it is not so easily caught. It means: "We heard a noise at his house. Every one ran [there]. There two hundred men were collected. They entered the house. They looted all the property, platters, loṭás, rice [of three sorts]; *dhán*, [unhusked]; *cháwul*, [husked]; *sáthi* [a species of Bhadai rice]. They broke the granary; then they came out, threw away their torches and fled. Then I and Parshád pursued, and one thief was caught."

Does Dr. Fallon wish us to fall back on this dialect, for instance, with the certainty that by using it we render ourselves unintelligible to one-half of India? or are we to use some other dialect, unintelligible to this half? Or again is each Englishman to use the dialect of the district where he finds himself, and have to learn a new dialect at each change of station?

If in reply I am told that the language meant by Hindi is the dialect of *hai* and *huá*, *kartá* and *kiyá;* and not that of *bhá* and *bhátl*, *karat* and *karalan*,* nor that of *che* and *chilá*;† nor that of *húndá* and *hoyá*;‡ nor that of *cho*, *chá* and *chi*;§ and that a certain amount of necessary Persian words is allowable, I would ask where are we to draw the line in Hindi between what is classical and what is provincial, and in Urdu between what Arabic words are allowable and what are not?

Remarks on some ancient Hindu Ruins in the Garhwál Bhátwr.—By Lieutenant Ayrton Pullan, *Assistant Surveyor, Great Trigonometrical Survey.*

[Received 6th June, 1867.]

While engaged in surveying a portion of the dense forest that skirts the foot of the Himalayas between Garhwal and Rohilcund, I discovered a very remarkable temple and a number of carved slabs scattered through the jungle. These ruins have hitherto escaped notice, owing to the dense jungle in which they lie hidden. The

* Bhojpuri. † Tirhút. ‡ Panjábi.
§ Rájputaná and Harrowti.

admirable preservation in which the temple still is, and the beauty of the carving on it, and the surrounding fragments, have induced me to make sketches of the most remarkable portions. I send herewith zincographs* from my sketches, trusting that with the following brief account, they may prove interesting to the Asiatic Society.

In January last, while in the Chandipáhár Seváliks and near the site of an ancient but now ruined village called Mandhal, almost six miles east of Hurdwar, I found among the grass the carved figure of a Bull; following up my discovery I came upon a small temple of exquisite carving and design, the figures on the frieze in fine alto-relievo and the whole arrangement of the façade perfect.

Round the temple, which was eight feet in height and six or eight feet square, were scattered a number of carved slabs, a group of wrestlers, Ganesh with his elephant head, and some gods under canopies so very Buddhist, as to remind me of "Sákya Thubhá" on the drawings of the monks of Zauskar and Ladakh.

The temple itself stands on a platform or "chabutará," twenty feet square, and at each side is a trench or drain which was probably intended to carry off the water, and leave the flat square dry for worshippers. Beautifully executed heads terminate the trench at the four corners: on the south a woman's head and bust, at the west a lion, at the north a ram; the east corner is broken and defaced. These heads in form and execution brought to my mind most vividly "the Gargoyles" on the gothic Cathedrals of Europe.

Scattered about were two or three large capitals and shafts of pillars, evidently belonging to a building of far larger dimensions than the small one now standing. The frieze and doorway faces the south; the northern door is much plainer, but I would draw attention to one of the pillars shewing *a stag under a tree* which is identical with the stag and tree on a silver coin found by me two years ago near Betrut in the Saháranpur district, and attributed to the Mahárájá *Amojdha;* the coin is now in the possession of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra of Calcutta. Inside the temple lies a square carved slab, cracked by a fall, bearing a fine three-headed deity. This three-headed god occurs on most of the slabs throughout the Terai, and is conspicuous on the lingam found near Lál Dháng.

* These zincographs may be seen in the Library of the Asiatic Society. Ed.

Whether the stag and tree, common alike to temple and coin, gives a clue to the builders; whether it suggests a stream of Hindu civilization driven by persecution into the untrodden forests of the Terai, like "the pilgrim fathers," seeking in the wilderness quiet to worship God after the fashion of their ancestors; or whether it may perhaps go to prove that in time past the deadly fever-smitten Terai was not deadly, but a cultivated country filled with villages and inhabitants;—these points I leave for antiquarians to decide.

About eight miles further east in the Lúní Sot, a narrow stony ravine running down from the Himalayas, I found some more slabs, one with a beautiful female head, and two or three large pillar shafts and cornice-mouldings, similar to those at Mandhal. After a long search I could find nothing further; but an old Brahmin who had a cattle "got" in the ravine, told me that twenty years ago several fine figures, slabs, &c. were carried away to Jayapur and Gwalior by wood-cutters from Central India.

Four miles further east, I came on the ruins or rather indications of a city (the place is now known as Pánduwálá) near the police jungle chauki of Láll Dháng. Here after an hour's search I at length lighted on the object of my visit; I found the ground beneath the tall tiger grass and tangled bamboos covered for a couple of square miles with heaps of small oblong red bricks, interspersed with carved slabs of stone; but the most singular and beautiful relic was the last to reward my search; this was a stone "lingam" of most exquisite work, half buried in the ground, but when excavated, standing three feet high and carved on three sides.

Forty or fifty small chirágs were turned up by my servants, while excavating the "lingam." The people at Láll Dháng told a similar story to the Brahmin at Lúní of figures and slabs that had been carted away to the plains at different times. At Pánduwálá I observed three or four evident indications of foundations of houses, and in one place a half-choked canal of good stone work, which had brought water doubtless to the people of the buried city from the cool hollows of the Bijinagar "Sot." A large stone, six feet in circumference by three in diameter, also lay near the foundation of one of the houses of bygone Pánduwálá. At Mawakot, a Boksar village in the Terai, eighteen miles east of

Pánduwálá, I found some more slabs, some of the three-headed divinity and one bearing a very curious figure. An old Brahmin, a resident of the village, told me that it represented "Jangdeo Kumár." The mailed figure with his armed supporters seemed almost an ancient gothic knight, but the curious tracery of fishes surrounding the warrior, somewhat destroyed the illusion. I found nothing more worth recording during my stay in the Terai, but I came on continued indications of what once had been: here a chipped and broken cornice near a cattle "Got." stuck up on end by the ignorant Paharis as a "Deotá," there a great slab of hewn stone lying alone among a clump of bamboos in the middle of the forest. That these remains extend through the whole length of the Rohilcund and Kumaon Terai, I should think there is little doubt. I was told that at Rámnagar in the Kumaon Terai, there were some very fine slabs and carved stones, but I was unable to make my way there.

My remarks on these interesting relics are of necessity meagre, but I hope that my drawings may induce some of the antiquarians of the Society to throw some light on these ruins in the wilderness. I can find no mention of these ruins in Batten's work on Gurhwál and Kumaon, although that writer mentions the Dwáráhát frieze and carvings in Kumaon. I believe I am the first European who has seen the Mandhal temple, or indeed any of these ruins, as none of the district or forest officers had ever heard of their existence, until I mentioned them.

Notes on ancient Remains in the Mainpuri District.—*By* C. Horne, *Esq. B. C. S.*

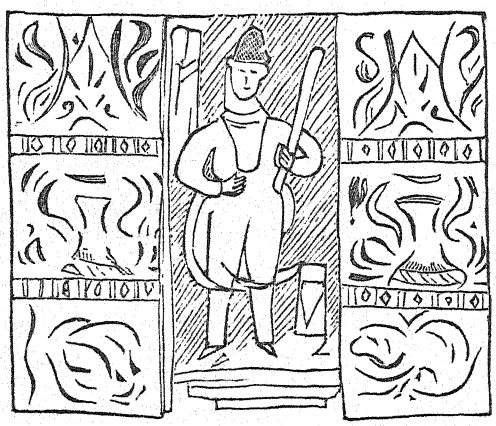
[Received 8th June, 1867.]

Asauli.—This large village is within two miles of Mainpuri to the north east and can be best approached by the old cemetery, from which it is perhaps three-fourths of a mile distant.

Crossing an "úsar" plain, and passing through the village of Sikandarpur, you see the village of Asauli picturesquely perched on its mound, which rises some forty feet from the level of the plain. At one end is a large native brick house used by the Rájá of Mainpuri during the mutiny, whilst at the other (the east) are swelling mounds covered with trees. But ere you can reach the said village, you have to go a long way round to avoid the extensive sheets of water which environ it on three sides, and which have been caused by the earth excavated therefrom to raise the mound.

Entering by the east, one at once notices a large heap of stones, &c. on a small mound, and here one naturally looks for the Buddhist temple or "chaitya" which certainly faced the rising sun.

Nor is one disappointed, for amidst the mass stands a stone with a deity thereon carved, now called by the villagers "Gúlpib-Debí." This is represented in the rough sketch given below; it is held by

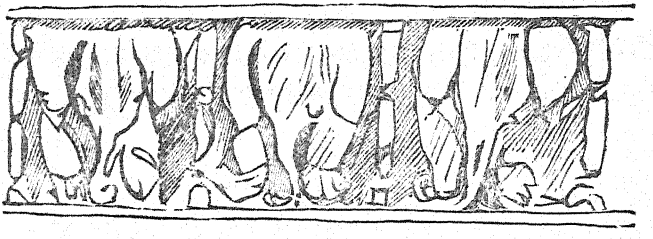


me to represent "Vishṇu," the supplanter of Buddh in this instance. This slab may, however, have formed part of the temple, and have been placed to the right or left of the entrance, as in the later Buddhist temple many Hindu deities were admitted. The carving about the figure is very rich and characteristic of the period I would assign to it, viz. circa 500 A. D.

The large squared blocks of kankar forming the original foundation are, many of them, still in situ—and the building will appear to have been of some size and of the usual crucial form. The length of the cross is not easily ascertained. A single cornice block will, however, give some clue to the size of the structure as it measured 34″ deep by 20″ wide.

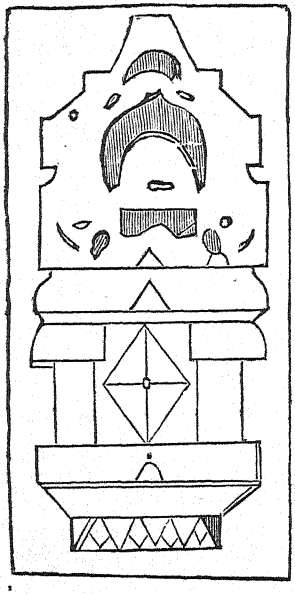


Several heads of Buddh, carved in the conventional style, were lying about; whilst two niche ornaments revealed him sitting in contemplation, and several lintel stones two feet ten inches in length, shewed that the sanctuary had been richly carved. There were remains of sundry cruciform capitals, and of single and double bases for pillars as well as of the pillars themselves, but the most curious piece of carving to be seen there was a long slab of kankar, a basement moulding which I have figured below. It will be observed that it consists



entirely of elephants seen fronting one. It measured eight feet one inch, and in this space there were five elephants. Another portion of the same basement moulding was found in the village, as also that of a frieze of demon faces which may possibly have formed part of another building.

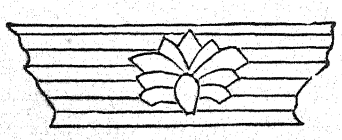
Amongst the ornamental carvings were several settings of "viráj"



or jewel shewn in the margin; whilst the over-branching vase does not fail to assert its prominent place.

There were also remains of statues of both male and female figures nearly nude, with elaborate waist-belts; but these appeared to me to belong to a time when the sensuous Jains were supplanting the Buddhists.

It is very curious to trace on these stones records how the purer faith of S'ákya Muni mingled and became incorporated with and debased by the grosser superstitions of S'iva and Vishṇu —to see how the pure and, so to speak, classical severity of rendering of the human form gave way to the sensuality of engrafted creeds—how S'ákya himself became adorned, needed clothing to cover him, instead of that wondrous veil of drapery generally indicated by merely the faintest waist-line or mark across the thigh, and required "tiká" marks and tiara, how the forms of his attendant female devotees bent and twisted themselves with their distended busts, and how, in truth, the small spark of light S'ákya had revived died out. Again, wandering about the village, one finds everywhere traces of carvings on blocks of stone built into walls. See below. These much resemble those at Malaun which I have before described.





Some are like the figures at Mathurá and Bhilsa; whilst I could not find that any Hindu temple had ever taken the place of the original Buddhist or Jain structure, in which, as afore-noted, it is probable that some of the Hindu Pantheon had found a place.

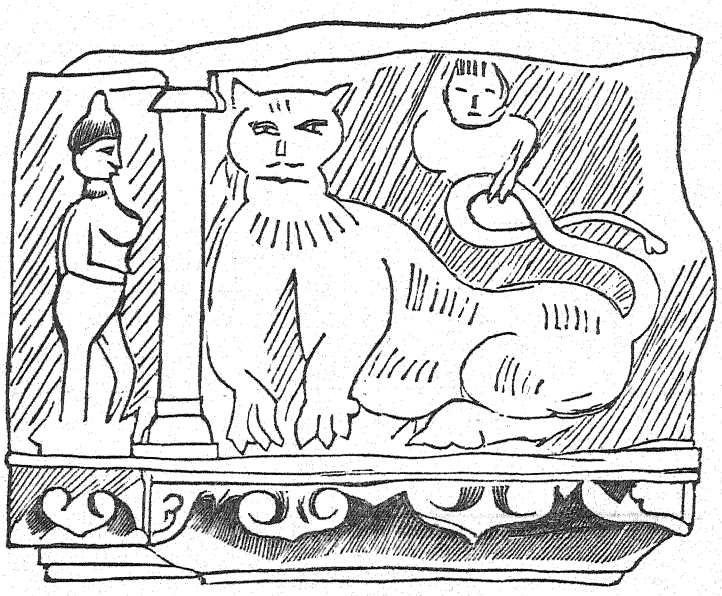
The mound is of great extent, running nearly east and west. It is perhaps half a mile long and of about the same width, and in former times there probably stood a large Vihar or convent on its western end, where it is highest.

Near this were lying six large stones very richly carved and in good preservation. The carvings upon them appeared to be metaphorical representations of the seasons. They are said to have been dug out from near where they are now lying some years since, and the stones (sandstone) appear quite fresh.

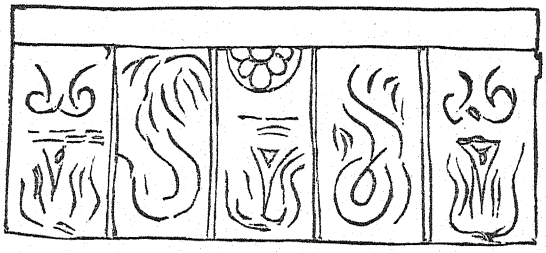
On one, five feet in length, S'ákya is seated on a tortoise. Two devotees kneeling, hand or offer vessels; whilst from his head springs a tree, going off into scrolls in the bends of which are lotus blossoms. On two or three stand little elephants, and on the others there are "chakwá chakwi" or Brahmani ducks billing and cooing, or sitting alone preening their feathers.



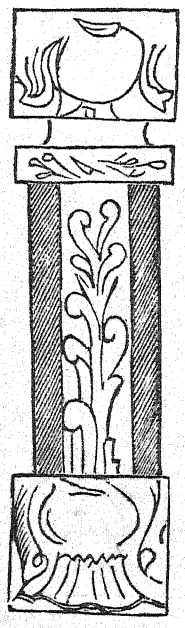
On either side is a panel, much defaced, but upon which "kinnars" or cherubs may yet be seen, and again beyond these on either side are



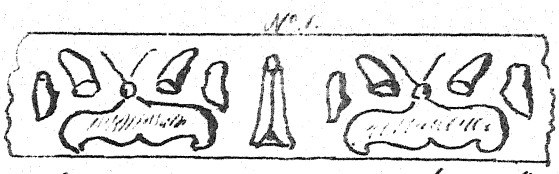
amatory groups—very Jain—viz. to the left a man playing a tom-tom with a woman holding her hands over his head; to the right a man's hand on his heart vowing devotion, whilst the woman is scorning him. On another large stone, half of which is wanting, is Buddha rested in the middle, the "Navagraha" or nine planets right and left, with the sun and moon on either hand closing the series. This stone is clearly early Hindu.



I append an outline of a portion of another carving which appears allegorical, although I am unable to make it out. I also send an outline of a pilaster found by me at Bíchaman on the Grand Trunk Road about six miles distant. Besides being of unusual design, it is pierced with a large round hole, and may possibly have formed part of a railing like that found at Mathurá.

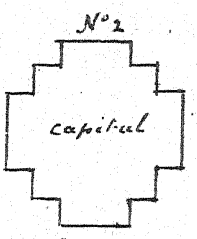


The bricks about the village were not large, and I imagine that in early times, the use of squared kankar blocks for religious edifices was universal in places where stone is not found. The carvings above described were on sandstone which may have been brought from Agra or elsewhere. It is, however, clear from what I have above noted that Asauli is worthy of a visit by any passing Archæologist.



N° 1.

Cut in block Kankar. 2 ft to 1 inch.



N° 2

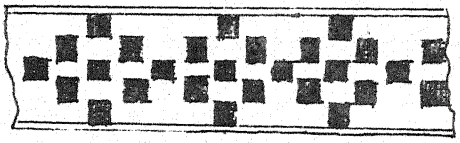
capital



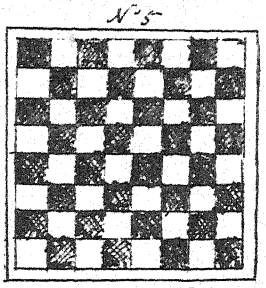
N° 3

Part of d°

N° 4.



Ornamental Band.



N° 5

a panel.



N° 8

Section of a capital

N° 6.



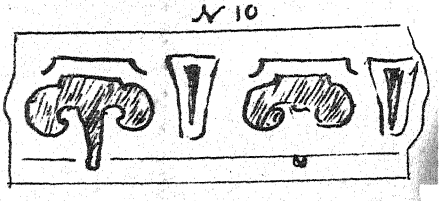
Cornice of Singhásan.



N° 7

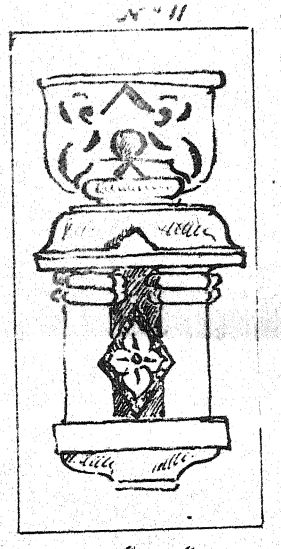


N° 9



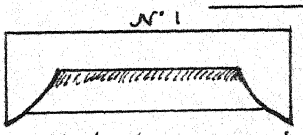
N° 10

N° 11



20" × 9"

Karimganj.



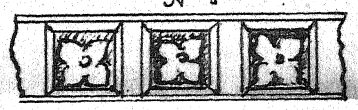
N° 1

capital of a square column.



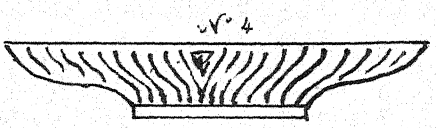
N° 3

pattern cut in Kankar & lime-worked



N° 5

ornamental band



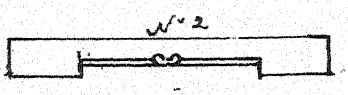
N° 4

very large capital or base of column?



N° 6

portion of a votive stupa.



N° 2

Lintel Stone over doorway (sandstone)

C. Horne del.

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Anjani. About three miles north of Mainpuri in the cross-road eading to Eta lies this village, and the road to it is cut through the base of the large khera or mound which attracts the attention of the Archæologist. To the left (in west) for a very large ext nt is low marshy land caused by the extensive scooping off of the surface earth or the purpose of raising the mound to the right, on which, in very early times, stood Buddhist or Hindu buildings.

At present the summit is occupied by a small mud fort surrounded by a trench, which I was told was thrown up in Lord Lake's time by the Nawáb of Lucknow, whose authority was acknowledged here.

Close by and still upon the crest of the mound which is of great extent, appears a heap of stones, and this upon closer examination, proves to have been a Buddhist "chaitya" or outlying chapel to a large building.

The basement would appear to be in sitû, and stands in the middle of what was once an enclosure of 24 by 18 paces in extent, its longest face being toward the south. The foundation of the enclosure wall has been dug out to the extent of several feet, which reveals the fact that the whole of this part of the mound consists of brickwork laid in mud and the bricks being from 14″ to 15″ × 10″ × $2\frac{3}{4}$″ in size.

The "chaitya" was constructed of kankar blocks; although some small portions were of Delhi sandstone. The remains, however, scattered through the village, shew that there must once have been a very large building here with columns of considerable diameter; and from their character, I am inclined to assign a date coeval with the decline of Buddhism.

The sheet of illustrations herewith sent, (Plate VII.) shews that the line of Rakshas' or demon heads, bears the character of the Buddh Gaya restorations and of many found at Benares and Jaunpur (figured in the Journal) presumed by me to belong to the same period (Fig. 1). The original cruciform capitals (Figs. 2 and 3) and chessboard ("diaper" of Col. Yule) pattern, Fig. 4, betoken great antiquity, whilst the finding in one place of the eight feet of cornice would seem to indicate a larger "Siñhásan" or idol throne for the figure of Buddha than could have been placed in the little "chaitya."

The Hindus would seem to have adopted the said chaitya, for I found three broken "nandies" or bulls and three slabs covered with Kṛishṇas in relief. The carved stone corner of a lintel, Fig. 7, might have belonged to the chapel, and a small clasped hand found in the spot was probably that of one of the "Kinnaras" or angelic cherubs, such as are generally placed around the figure of Buddha. Very many stones were found covered with, what I believe to be, early Hindu cutting, (Fig. 10,) whilst the band of carving Fig. 4 is of a very early type.

I hold therefore that there are good grounds for believing that there was once a Buddhist institution (a Vihara probably) on the spot with its outlying chapel, which latter was appropriated by the Hindus, for the worship of first, Siva, then Krishna and then—allowed to go to ruin. The drain-stone from the Lingam, shaped out of an old block, is still there projecting over the original step; although the emblem of Siva has departed, and no reverence would seem to be paid to the spot by the present villagers, whose zamindar kindly *sent* me one of the finest of the carved stones, (Fig. 11,) without any objection.

Karimganj. About five and a half miles north of Mainpuri, towards Eta upon the cross road stand the large village of Karímganj. Approaching it from the north, a large mound, a short distance from the road, attracts attention and appears worthy of investigation.

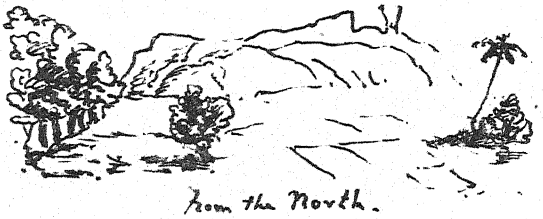
This mound, which is of very great extent, being at base 530 by 330 paces, and which has been formed in ancient times by the heaping of the surface earth brought from a long distance, stands between forty and fifty feet above the level of the country, and upon its crest has been erected in more recent times a mud fort. The level of the general raised surface being taken at ten feet, this fort rises yet thirty feet above that, and presents a very picturesque aspect in its decay. (Plate VI.)

Three sketches and a plan accompany to give an idea of the above. The whole mound is strewed with broken pottery, which is accounted for by the fact that a village used to stand upon it, but has since been removed leaving only these "traces. The kherá" or mound is called by the villagers "Khán Bahádur ká Kherá," and this would appear to have been the name of the petty chief who, subordinate to the Nawáb of Fatehgarh, built the mud fort in the time of Lord Lake.

I examined the mound most carefully; but could not find anything in situ, except a few bricks and these of no unusual size. The fort



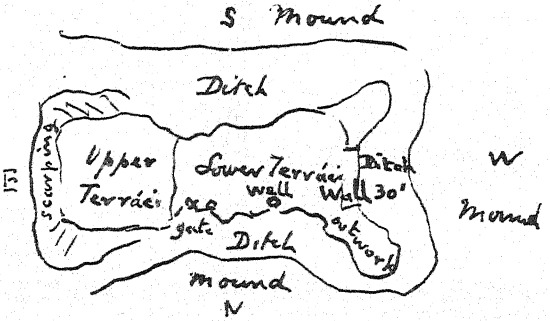
From the South.



From the North.

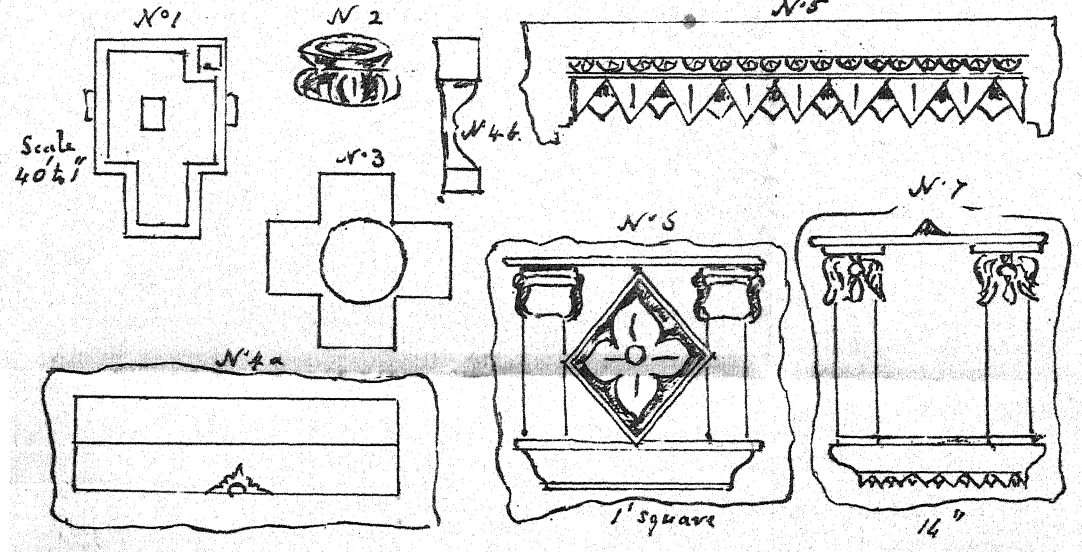


From the East



Plan of Fort. 110 yards by 80 yards.

Thákurá.



N°4b is Section of N°4a.



is composed, as before stated, of surface (here "saltpetre") earth. Hence the mass of mud is gradually disappearing, being dug out and taken away by the villagers to manure their poppy crops, and thus in the course of time the whole of the upper mound will be levelled. But, although there are no remains "in situ," there are plenty around the large well-mouths and scattered throughout the village, and I subjoin a small sheet of illustrations (Plate VII.) to shew that there must have been in later Buddhist or early Hindu times, a building of some pretensions on this spot. Here too I observed for the first time, kankar blocks, with the main lines of the carving sunk deeply in them, and the whole face of the stone covered with fine lime plaister which was admirably moulded.

The patterns thus produced abounded in curved lines, an illustration of which is given in Fig. 3; they resemble those used in the temple at Máláun (distant perhaps twelve miles) and in the "chaitya" at Anjani, two or three miles distant.

The whole country appears covered with kheras, upon which many of the villages are built, and my own house here stands on one. So that I hope to discover many more sites of ancient buildings, the remains of a very thickly populated Buddhist state.

Ṭhákurá. Leaving Karímganj to the west and proceeding due east over the large "jhíl" or marsh and some barren sand hills for about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, one comes to Thakurá village, on the farther side of which, under some noble trees are the remains of an early Hindu temple.

These remains, some illustrations of which accompany, (Plate VI.) are curious principally as shewing how the Hindus adopted the Buddhist forms of ornament, and gradually changed them until the ancient style was lost or blended with the more corrupt modern one.

The material used throughout appears to have been block kankar, which is a most intractable stone, being much like a solid sponge, and the people deserve great credit for the way in which they have worked it. It is I believe softer when first dug than it afterwards becomes. The people of this village were very ignorant, and as they had a lurking reverence for the stones I brought none away.

The drawings on the plate may be thus described.

Fig. 1 is the small enclosed shrine, built with squared kankar blocks.

Fig. 2 is a more recent capital.

Fig. 3 is a very singular capital, for a round pillar 11 inches in diameter, in which the ancient cruciform shape is retained.

Fig. 4 is an odd ornament, curious but ineffective. It must have been placed over a window.

Fig. 5 is an extremely handsome ornament of the same kind for placing over a window or niche.

Fig. 6 is a portion of the ornament always found in the projecting faces of old Hindu temples, the form of the capitals is singular, whilst the "viraja" or jewel of Buddha thus set, has become a flower, subsequently often used in ornamentation.

Fig. 7 is a portion of a similar ornament. The form of the capital resembles some seen at the cave temples, and is essentially Buddhist in design.

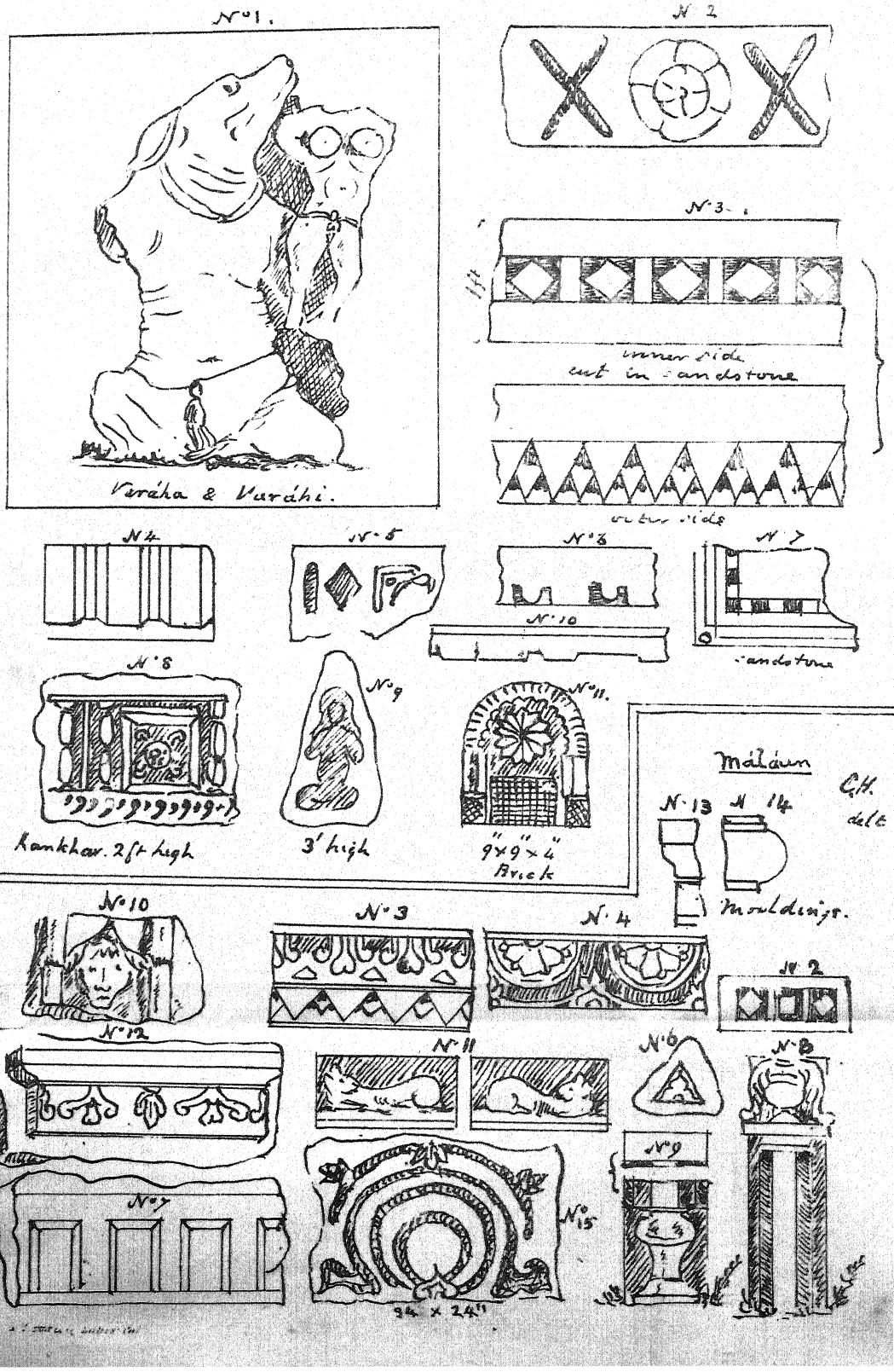
Nonairá. This large and ancient village stands on a very extensive mound which rises from the plain to a height of about 40 feet. It is perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Grand Trunk Road, and about the same distance from the Police Post and Canal Chaukí of Dhanahár, and nine miles from Mainpuri.

The name savours of "salt," and we find that until quite recently, from very ancient times, there was a large saltpetre manufactory at this place. Doubtless salt was also formerly made, and hence the name from "núm," salt and "nonairá," salt-maker. Although the mound is so extensive, there is no marsh or "jhíl" around the village. It would seem to have silted up, and the lands are now watered by a branch of the Ganges canal.

On the eastern spur of the mound, I, as usual, found the traces of the foundations of an ancient religious building; whilst to the north stands the fort, in the construction of which have doubtless been employed most of its materials, as remains of heavy cornices were seen cropping out of the foundations.

Enough, however, remained to shew that there had been a small Buddhist "chaitya" with a Jain ceiling. I subjoin a few drawings, (Plate VIII.) and would draw attention to Fig. 1, which represents the boar incarnation of Vishnu, or the "Varáha-avatár." He is accompanied

Nonairá


N°1.
Varáha & Varáhi.
N° 2
N° 3.
inner side
cut in sandstone
outer side
N° 4
N° 5
N° 6
N° 10
N° 7
sandstone
N° 8
N° 9
N° 11.
Kankhar. 2ft high
3' high
9"x9"x4"
Brick
Máláun
C.H. delt
N° 13
N° 14
Mouldings.
N° 10
N° 3
N° 4
N° 2
N° 12
N° 11
N° 6
N° 8
N° 9
N° 7
N° 15
34 x 24"

by the "sakti" or female energy—his wife "Varáhi;" and I observe that Moor in the original edition of his Hindoo Pantheon has a very similar figure on plate 6.

Figure 2 shews the centre boss of the Jain ceiling, whilst Figure 3, gives the details of an architrave of the most ancient type.

Figure 4 is curious, as shewing how the same plan of eaves-stones was adopted over the small windows, cut in imitation of wood, as found by me at Saidpur, Juanpur and Benares.

Figures 5 and 6 are also representations of very rough and ancient carvings.

Figure 7 represent the projecting entablature, of which I found several portions, and which is very finely finished.

Figure 8 shews a portion of the original shrine. It is extremely worn, although the kankar in which it is cut, is of the hardest description.

Figure 9 has also been originally well cut; but the wear of centuries has almost levelled the high relief in which it was executed.

Figure 10 shews a detail which, taken in connection with two pillars found, proves that there was a smaller under shrine.

Figure 11 is another instance of bricks carved with a tool.

I was not able to find any large square bricks, commonly called "Buddhist," but many occurred of an unusual form, and the Kárindá of Rájá Prithvi Sing, the zamindar of the village has kindly sent me one, which is at the service of the Asiatic Society, and which measures $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9'' \times 4''$. The ornament represented in Figure 11 was cut from such a brick, but the art of cutting and shaping bricks would seem to have been now entirely lost in the village.

In spite of their thickness, these bricks are beautifully burnt, and each one is marked on one side. The lines with which they are marked appear to have been made with the three fingers of the right hand, having been very carefully drawn across the brick when first moulded. Amongst more modern (yet ancient) bricks I have often seen the mark, made with the finger. This I believe to have been as a charm, and to have roughly represented the trident. This mark also occurs as a mason's mark on marble at Agra, in buildings of the time of Sháh Jahán and Akbar.

I am not aware of similarly ornamental bricks having been else-

where noticed, or described; although I may here add that I found one carved into a capital at Sarnáth, which may be seen by the curious at the Museum, Queen's College, Benares.

Máláún. When driving on the Grand Trunk Road on my way to Eta, and 13 miles east from that place, I unexpectedly came upon an old temple, and as I have not met with any account of the same, I made a few notes and drawings which may perhaps prove of interest to some, and which I therefore annex. The first thing which attracted my notice, was the size and regularity of the kankar blocks with which the temple had been built.

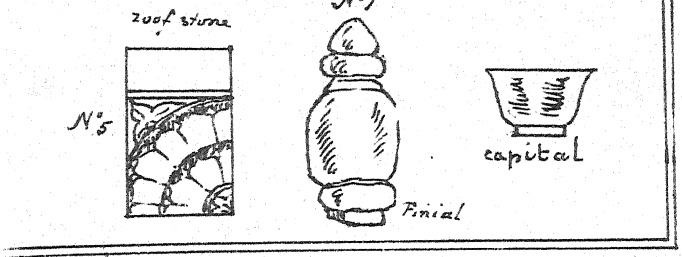
They varied from 3′ 6″ to 4′ × 7″ × 9″, and appear to have been freely used by the officers of the Grand Trunk Road for bridge building, for many miles of road. Jaswant Singh, the old Ṭhákur zamindar of the place, told me that a certain "Conolly Sahib" had taken the road right through the temple, entirely clearing away the southern arm of the cross, in which ancient form, the erection had been constructed, and used Government vans at night to transport blocks of kankar, carved and plain, for his works; whilst the "oldest inhabitants" who professed to have remembered the occurrence, added—"The kaidís (prisoners') backs were broken by their weight," and a third put in, "Nay, but they were killed outright!"

This is merely mentioned, to shew the need of some officer to see to the preservation of old ruins; for the zamindar offered me as many stones as I might require, and did not appear to mind their removal.

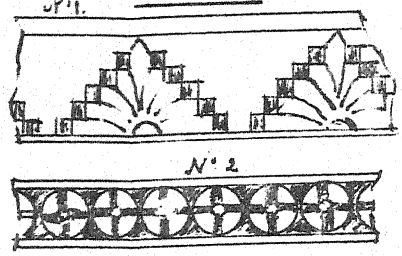
But to resume my account. The only portion of the original foundation that I could find laid bare, was built with large bricks 14″ or 15″ × 8″ × 2½″ and was 5½″ in thickness, with a buttress extending 9 feet. The facing of the superstructure, was originally composed of the large blocks of kunkur formerly alluded to, and very little other stone appears to have been used.

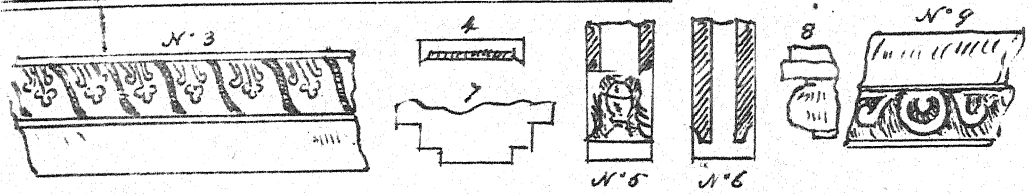
In Figure, No. 14, a specimen of the basement moulding is given. This is about 1 foot in depth, and is of the most ancient type. Sundry traces of Hindu restoration of an ancient Buddhist chaitya are apparent; amongst others, a large lintel stone (of Agra (?) sandstone) with the peculiar frog-like crushed figures at either end, so often seen in modern Hindu temples at Benares and elsewhere. This stone

Málácon.

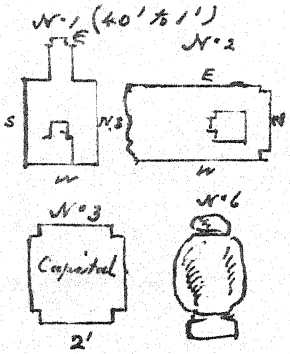


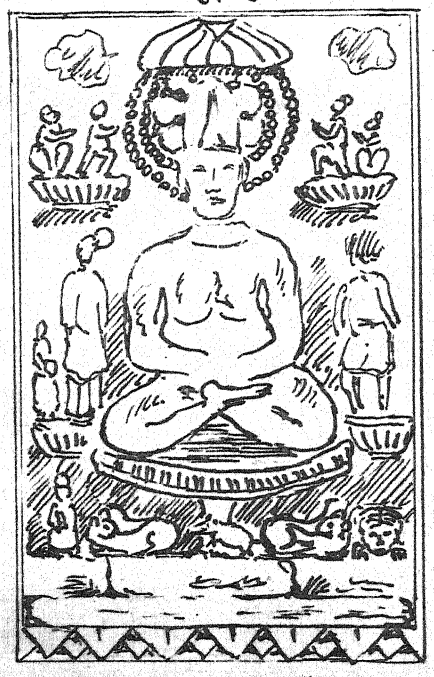
Keraolii.

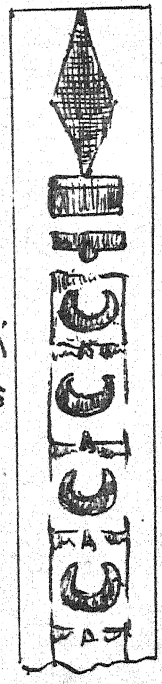




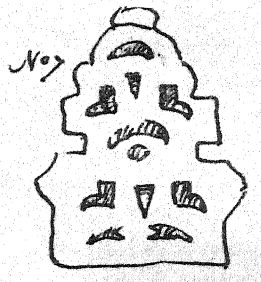
Jasráo

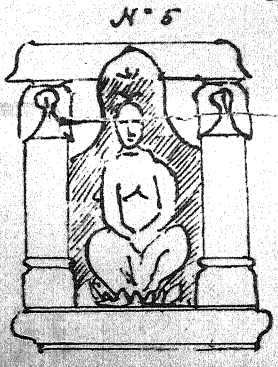




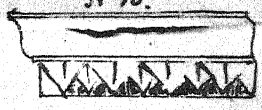


Ornament on the face of projections.



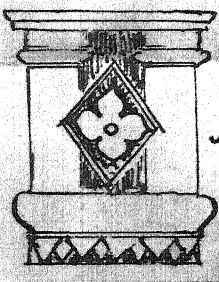


Stone very much broken
& head separate.
N°10.





Cut in the Kunkur



C Horne delt.

is fully 6 feet in length. There were lying about, both in the temple and near a bridge three miles nearer Etá, by the road side, many cut blocks of kankar.

One of them, figured as No. 10, bore traces of great antiquity, and reminded me of some faces similarly arranged, which I had drawn at Benares: the type is a universal one.

Many fragments of cornice were also lying there, all indicating a large building. Two of these are shewn drawn to scale in Figures 3 and 4. Ornamental details, figures 2 and 12 indicate the date of the work, the former being very bold and effective; whilst the latter, in spite of the rough grain of the kankar, looks very rich.

Moulding, No. 13 is ornamented with the old denticulated pattern, and has a good effect.

Figure 11, shews two tigers, more modern in their design.

From the above it will be seen that the details of ornamentation were very rich, in spite of the uncompromising nature of the material, viz. porous block kankar.

The temple was built upon a slight mound raised with earth, dug from the neighbouring marsh, now nearly filled up by the annually drifting sand of this part of the country. The temple covered a space of about 75 feet square.

The form would appear to have been oblong. I was able to recover two of the pillars, which had been originally used. It will be seen by figures 8 and 9, that they were of a very simple and early style.

The base figures in both and the central portion in each is eight-sided. The upper recessed portion in Figure 9 has, however, only six sides. These pillars may have formed part of the same building; for we often find different patterns employed in one edifice.

Figure 7 represents an eaves-stone cut in imitation of wood work. It probably covered some small door or upper light, and, as before remarked, resembles those found at Jaunpur (Pair Daruba and Atala mosque) and Rajghat, Benares. The figure of a sitting Buddha is still on the spot to point out who were the founders, although there are also several Hindu deities present in effigy on sundry slabs of stone, to attest the subsequent appropriation.

Around the niches once occupied by figures of Buddha are handsome

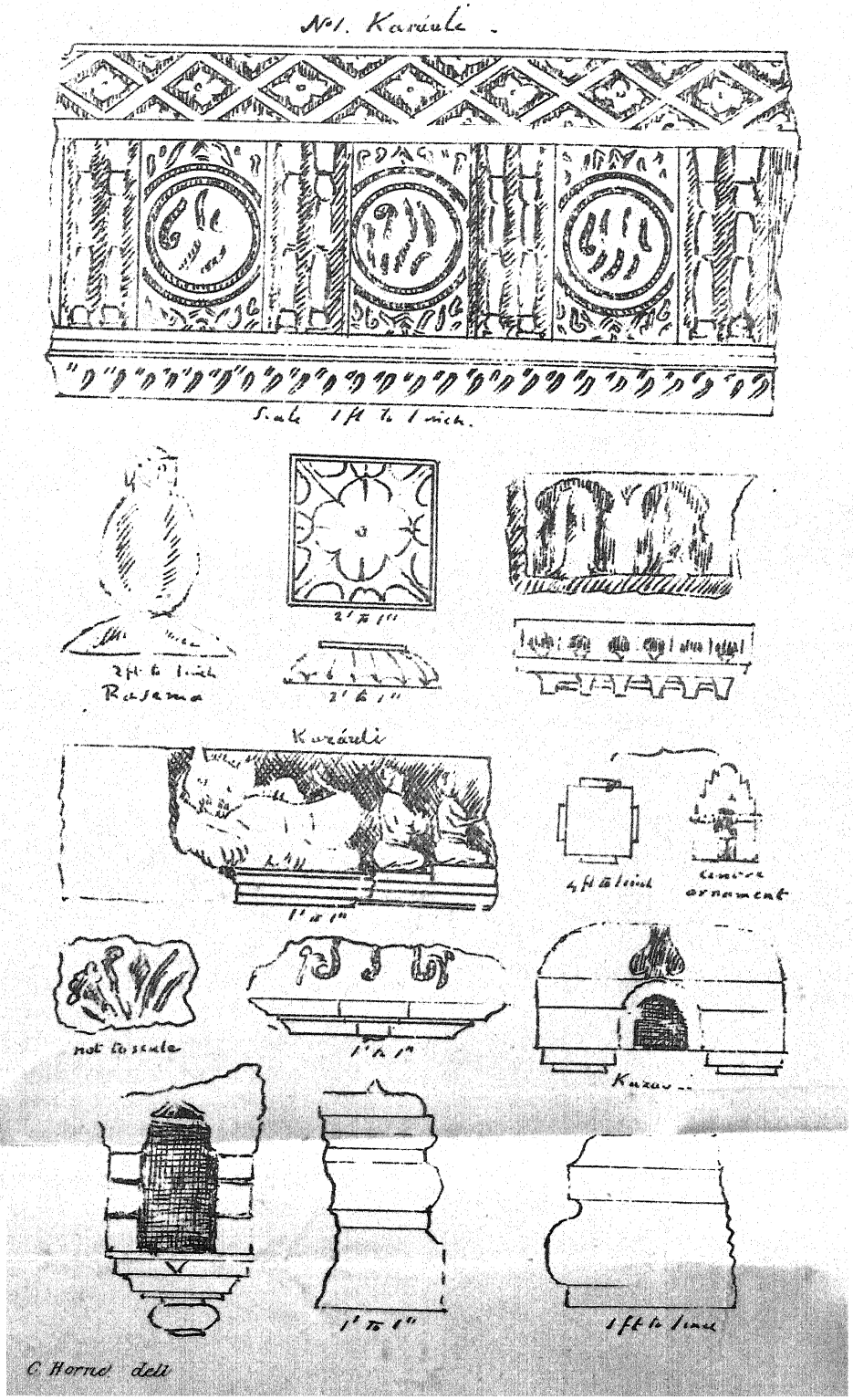
ornaments one of which, (32 inches by 24 inches) has been figured by me as No. 15. There were many others of the same character. We now come to the roof. Of the central slab of this Buddhist (or as Fergusson would call it "Jain") ceiling, I was fortunate enough to find three portions, one of which has been figured as No. 5; it is drawn to scale, from which it will be perceived that the central rose lotus blossom must have been 5′ 4″ in diameter. This would give a central chamber vault of at least 11 feet, or with the cornice 12 feet. The massiveness of the long slabs of *block kankar*, must have been very great; but they were not sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a large pípal tree, which now stands upon this spot, and which doubtless helped much to cause the ruin.

Arrived at the exterior of the roof, we find a strange pinnacle, of a form new to me, one in which the form of the vase is not abandoned, but very well adapted. Vide figure 1.

There were also built into the walls around, the remains of three kalasas, each of 3 feet diameter, which, doubtless, at a subsequent period, capped portions of the edifice. I also observed the fragment of a very singular capital (figure not numbered) which would seem to have been used in the building. An emblem of S'iva has been erected in the centre of a wretched enclosure on the site, and the said enclosure is generally kept clean; but except by the women, much sanctity does not seem to obtain for the place. It is, however, the scene of many a festive "mela" or fair, held at regular intervals, and for the convenience of visitors at which, the kankar blocks have been much scattered and rebuilt into small walls. The temple was undoubtedly of Buddhist origin, and belonged probably to the fifth or sixth century after Christ. Of course, it was impossible to find any mason marks, as these could not be well cut on kankar blocks. There was no inscription that I could discover, whilst my search for coins in the village produced nothing.

These notes may prove the more valuable, as it is probable that in a short time not a trace will remain of this ancient ruin.

Karauli.—At the suggestion of General Cunningham, I drove over to Karauli, which is about 11 miles north of Mainpuri, and upon the Grand Trunk Road from Allahabad to Delhi, being 240 miles from the latter place.


No1. Karáuli.
Scale 1 ft to 1 inch.
2 ft 6 inch
Rasama
2' to 1"
2' to 1"
Karáuli
1" to 1"
4 ft to 1 inch
Camera ornament
not to scale
1" to 1"
Kuzaw...
1" to 1"
1 ft to 1 inch
C. Horrad delt

There is a magnificent grove, at the road side, of gigantic tamarind and other trees, under which are scattered some Muhammadan tombs, and there are traces everywhere of this town having once flourished under the Musalman emperors, of whose coins I obtained three or four, as well as two of the nail-headed character. These latter abound in these parts. A thorough search through the town shewed no traces of very ancient buildings in situ, although the old fort mound, now being levelled and converted into a "ganj" or market place, may have been the site of one. I, however, marked about 30 stones, *i. e.* block kankar and sandstone, which had once formed parts of a Buddhist erection, and all of which appeared to me to have been brought from Malaún about eight miles distant. I have figured some of these. Of No. 1, I found two portions; the rest of the cornice being at Malaún, and a band of the same pattern adorns one of the faces of the great tope at Sárnáth, and has been figured in the "Researches" of the Asiatic Society by General Cunningham.

Figure 2 is commonly to be found carved at the Atala mosque, Jaunpur, and on very early capitals.

The forms shewn in Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7 indicate great antiquity. There are similar ones at Malaún and at many other places. The basement moulding Fig. 8 is very bold, massive and effective, and also of a very early date.

Figure 9 is very singular; but there may be doubts as to its age.

Cornice, Figure 3, needs no special remark.

Many of these stones were found built into the gateway of a new sarái; some were seen near the Old Fort or walls; whilst others were used to form the mouths of wells.

Fragments of three kalasas, of a similar size as those found at Malaún, were also discovered; so that the conclusion I arrived at was, that no building of any note in Buddhist times, had existed in Karauli, but that these remains had been plundered from Malaún, which would seem to have been used as a quarry for many years past. I find this district to be dotted over with high mounds of great antiquity, many of which produce stones as herein illustrated; I hope to examine more of them.

This fact, however, shews one that caution must be exercised in statements as to whence stones have been taken; for there may have

been many small shrines or "chaityas" in connection with monasteries on mounds, which latter may have been built of bricks, which said bricks, which is commonly the case here, have been annexed and used by the surrounding villages.

I can, I am sorry to say, obtain no written notice of these mounds, and they are far beyond the range of oral tradition. A collection of the best of these carved stones might be made *here* by Government at a very little expense; but no one in these parts appears interested in the subject.

Jusrau, visited February 13th, 1866. About two miles west of Añjani village, described in a former paper, lies the village of Jusrau. It forms part of the titular Rájá of Mainpuri's zamindári or estate, and has, I have little doubt, been plundered of its best archæological remains in the shape of pillars and capitals by former residents of Mainpuri, from which it is scarcely three miles distant. The last attempt would, however, seem to have secured immunity for the future from these spoliations.

The "oldest inhabitant," a grey-haired Brahman, informed me gravely, pointing as he spoke to a large block of kankar which had once formed part of the ancient Buddhist shrine at this place, that the Rájá had sent for this to be used in building; that he had laden it on a two-bullock cart; but that the cart had broken down and the bullocks been drowned whilst crossing the river Isan, not very distant, in the sacrilegious attempt to remove it. He added that the fresh cart and bullocks then sent by the Rájá brought it back *with ease*, and restored it to the spot where I then saw it. So alarmed are the villagers, that they will not use the smallest, plainest stone for any purpose, and in proof of their sincerity, they shewed me their great need of a good well, saying that they were too poor to burn bricks for it, yet they dared not use the blocks lying about in profusion. And this was the more curious, as the remains about to be described, are thoroughly Buddhist, and not at all Brahminical in their character, whereas the village is a Brahman one.

The cart track leaves the high road from Mainpuri to Etá, shortly after the 4th mile, and crosses a sandy expanse, now covered with crops of barley, &c. until it terminates in the village. To the east of this are remains of what had been formerly two village

Buddhist shrines, and these were all the buildings to be traced. These are both 50 feet by 30 feet, measured outside, and Plans Nos. 1 and 2 sufficiently explain them. Each has a raised platform 19 by 12 feet, built of well-cut kankar blocks without cement, and quite plain. These must originally have risen from 5 to 6 feet, from the terrace in which they stand; for even now in one place the finished upper work is of that height, whilst in others, rubbish has accumulated. On these raised platforms were probably originally built open chaityas as at Bakáriyá Kund. The remains of kalasas or dome caps, of 5 feet in diameter, such as could crown a "Vimána" of 30 or 40 feet in height, evidence large buildings; whilst the finding of several projecting face ornaments enabled me at once to state with certainty the original form of the building. See Figures 4, 5 and 9.

The present residents of the village call the ruins by the name of Jagat Deví's temple, and they tell me that at the Holi festival, a great "mela" or fair is held here, when offerings of ghi and rice are made to the Deví, who is neither more nor less than our old friend "S'ákya Muni" or Buddha. The local name merely means "The deity of the locality."

Buddha is to be found sitting in every niche in the sculpture, and there is, besides, the two small figures, one of which does duty for Jagat Deví, (Figure 5,) and another very well carved, some 4 feet in height, of which I give a rough representation, Figure 8. Nearly all the Buddhist ruins about here, would seem to belong to the time of the decay of the purer faith, and these are no exceptions; for we find the ornaments of the projecting faces to have been the same at Anjani, Karímganj, Karauli and Malaún. Vide Figures 4 and 5.

Here I saw for the first time on kankar, what I believe to be a kind of mason's mark: Figure 11. The carving of the large Buddha is very well executed; but the head has been knocked off and replaced minus part of the neck; and the two upper groups of "Kinnaras," or cherubs, are altogether broken away. The two tigers under the lotus, are the same as those I saw at Malaún; the animals are something between a pig and a bear. The forms of these I saw in Behar, and also on a stone in Benares opposite to the Golden Temple.

To the right at base is the figure, supposed by Mr. Sherring and me to be "Surya," the sun, and figured amongst the remains from Bhitári in the Society's Journal, Vol. XXXIV. Part I. plate xvii. The lotus or glory around the head, is finely cut in relief, as is also the canopy. There were no traces of large bricks, but all seems to have been built of kankar blocks. In all this village, I saw no trace of the worship of S'iva, and truly, *all* fell down before, although many openly laughed at this their *Unknown god*dess, "Jagat Deví," the fear of whom was moreover shewn by their not daring to touch a stone of her former temple.

Additional note on Karauli.—Since recording the foregoing notes, I have had several opportunities of examining ancient carved stones at Karauli. Chaudhari Lachhman Siñh is constructing a tank in steps, the entire facing of which, consisting of squared kankar blocks, is composed of the remains of some very large and handsome Buddhist buildings, which, contrary to the opinion heretofore expressed by me, existed on the spot.

These blocks, in number several thousands, were found when levelling the mound or "khera" for the purpose of laying out a large market. I subjoin a plate (x) of some of the more remarkable, which need little explanation. There were besides, large and handsome mouldings and specimens of nearly all the carved ornamental bands in use in this class of buildings. As usual, however, there had been a reconstruction; for I found two huge blocks of kankar with the tigers "couchant" placed one on either side of the doorway; whilst originally they had been joined and formed the basement for a large figure of Buddha.

The drawing No. 1, Plate X., represents what was probably at the back of the shrine, and resembles other portions found at Noner and elsewhere. It is very complete and curious. No one can say what may have been built into the tank-facing, but this is one of many instances in which valuable carvings have been lost. A few slabs were secured by me for a local museum, should such ever be established in Mainpuri.

At the village of Rasemá, where is a large and ancient khera, I saw remains of a small building, similar to some of those described

in these notes. This village is about two miles south of Karauli, and I here secured a curious vase-shaped pinnacle which well denoted the period of its construction.

Literary Intelligence.

A very useful handy-book on the Hindu law of adoption has just been published under the patronage of Honorable Prasanna Kumár Tagore, C. S. I. It is entitled the *Dattaka-Siromaṇi*, and contains the substance of all the leading treatises on the subject, including the *Dattáka-mimáñsa*, the *Dattaka-chandriká*, the *D. nirṇaya*, the *D. Darpaṇa*, the *D. Dídhiti*, the *D. Kaumudi*, the *Dattaka Siddhánta manjarí*, as also of an apocryphal treatise named the *Dattaka Tilaka*. The work has been compiled with great care and judgment by Professor Bharata-chandra S'iromaṇí of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, who has also supplied, at the end of each chapter, an excellent summary of its subject.

Anglo-Páli literature has received an important accession in an English translation of the Attanagalluvansa of Ceylon, by James d'Alwis. Though professedly a history of the Temple or vihára of Attanagalla, it contains the chronicles of King Sangabodhi, who reigned in the middle of the 3rd century A. D. In an elaborate preface the translator has discussed a number of interesting questions regarding the Singhalese Chronicles of the Mahávansa and the Dípawansa, and of translations of particular passages in them by Turnour and others.

The Librarian of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, Paṇdita Jagan-mohan Tarkálankára, has brought out an edition of the play of *Chaṇda Kausika* of Khemísvara. The author flourished in the court of Mahipála Deva of Gour, and his work therefore is about 900 years old. By a curious mistake the editor, confounding an epithet with a proper name, says in his preface that the work was written for the entertainment of a king of the name of Kártika who flourished between four hundred and a thousand years ago. The subject of the book is the preëminence of truthfulness as illustrated by the story of Visvámitra and king Harischandra. The Tamil version of this

work is well known under the name of *Arichandra*, of which an excellent English translation was, a short time ago, published in England by Mr. Matukumára Svámi of the Ceylon Legislative Council.

The same editor has also published a new and very carefully revised edition of the Veṇisañhára of Bhaṭṭa Náráyaṇa, with a new commentary.

The learned professor Jayanàráyaṇa Tarkálañkára, to whom Sanskrit scholars are indebted for several excellent commentaries on ancient Sanskrit authors, has lately presented to the public a very useful little digest, named *Pudártha-tattvasára*, containing an epitome of the Philosophy of Kapila and Kanáda. The book will prove a great help to the students of philosophy in the Sanskrit colleges of Calcutta and Benares.

An original treatise on the mode of performing the ceremony of weighing one-self against gold, silver and other articles intended for presentation to Brahmans, *Túládána-paddhati*, and a new grammar of the Sanskrit language (*Á'subodham Vyákaranam*), have been brought out by the indefatigable Professor Táránátha Tarkaváchaspatí of the Sanskrit College. The former will prove useful to those who have especial faith in, and the means to perform, the interesting ceremony of which it treats, but we doubt very much if the latter is likely to supersede the excellent compendium of Varadarája, the *Laghu Kaumudi*.

To the Persian scholar, we have to recommend a small volume containing two small treatises on Metre and Rhyme, the *'Aráz* of Saifi, and the *Káfiah* of Jámi, very carefully edited by the learned Shemitist, Professor H. Blochmann.

In three old letters found in the archives of the Asiatic Society, the late Colonel Wilford announced to Mr. Edward Colebrooke, the discovery of certain Sanskrit MSS. on geography, of which no notice has since been met with, and which seem not to be known to Sanskrit scholars. The works named are, 1, *Bhavishya Puráṇa* of 60,000 slokas. The Puráṇa of that name, according to the Vishṇu Puráṇa, should contain only 14,000 slokas. In the commentary on the second work on our list Jayasinha, " who often speaks or is made to speak in the first person, says that he had in vain sent people all over India to procure it; he ascertained that it was not to be found, and supposed it no longer existed; however near Allahabad he heard that it was in *Trina guru Desa* or Tibet, in the possession of Juáni guru, and that he got a copy from

him." 2nd *Dharma Kosha*, of 700,000 s'lokas, compiled by order of Jayasinha Rájá of Jayapur, who is said to have "sent the author to perambulate the Gangetic provinces. He was furnished with a *Machiles-wara* or compass, and a water clock which as he advanced shewed the coss and its parts." 3rd, *Bhrigu Sañhitá*, "between 40 and 50,000 s'lokas, all on geography." 4th, *Garga Sañhitá*, "certainly about 2½ lakhs of s'lokas." 5th, *Mâdhavi Kosha*, "entirely on geography. It consists of 10,000 leaves or above nine lakhs of s'lokas. It requires three men, or at least two very strong ones, to carry it. It is divided into 56 books describing the Chhapan Desa of India." 6th, *Ishṭa Puráṇa*, "compiled by order of Mána Sing for the illustration of the geography of the Puráṇas—about 2½ lacks of s'lokas." 7th, *Ahabala Sañhitá*, "of 56 Sections relating to the 56 grand divisions of India." 8th, *Súta sañhitá*. 9th, *Parásara Sañhitá*, "both on geography." Wilford possessed MSS. of most of these, and it would be of interest if they could now be traced.

The following are extracts from three letters lately received from Professor Holmboe of Christiania, giving the results of his recent researches into Indo-Scandinavian antiquities. The first is an abstract of a memoir on some figures sculptured on a rock in Scandinavia, which will be found interesting to Indian Archæologists :—

"Depuis un temps immémorial on voit sur les rocs près de la mer aux côtes de Suède et de Norvège un grand nombre de figures sculptées, représentant des navires, des roues, des voitures, des hommes armés, des chevaux, des cavaliers, des souliers, &c. Elles se trouvent ordinairement groupées ensemble, ce qui a motivé quelques archéologues à les prendre pour des tableaux executés en mémoire de batailles, particulièrement par mer. Mais il est constaté, que les figures, qui forment une groupe, ne sont pas contemporaines, mais fabriquées à différentes époques. Le navire ou bateau sont des symboles ordinaires de la métempsychose en Orient, et les mêmes symboles se trouvent parfois sur des pierres sépulcrales dans le Nord. M. H. suppose donc que ces figures sculptées sur les rocs y sont placées en mémoire de personnes décédées, et que le choix des figures depend ou du gout des parents survivants, ou de la position, sociale du défunt, ou de quelque évènement important de sa vie. Quant aux autres figures, les souliers, les voitures, les chevaux &c. l'auteur renvoie le lecteur à la croyance des

payens, que le défunt devait passer par des chemins obstrués par des épines et d'autres difficultés, à cause desquelles on avait dans le Nord la coutume de lier des souliers sous les plantes des pieds des morts. On peut donc envisager les souliers, les chevaux et les voitures comme symboles de leur voyage à Valhal. Enfin M. H. émet l'opinion que les petites voitures de bronze qu'on a découvertes en Allemagne et en Suède, une fois du moins dans un tertre sépulcrale, ont servi à des cérémonies funéraires emblématiques symbolicant le départ de la vie terrestre. Les mémoires sont illustrés d'une planche et de beaucoup de tailles en bois."

The Professor gives the following brief notice of an essay of his on the sacrifice of the Horse among the Scandinavians :—

" On lit dans les anciennes Sagas ou histoires de la Norvège que plusieurs hommes consacraient des chevaux au dieu Frey, et au commencement de chaque année on sacrifiait des chevaux et en mangeait la viande. Mais dans une Saga Islandaise, dite Vatsdælasaga, il est raconté, qu' un homme nommé Hrafnkel avait un Freyfux, c. à d. un cheval consacré à Frey, et qu' il avait défendu chaqu'un d'y monter sous peine de mort. Néanmoins un de ses serfs le monta, et fut puni de mort. L'auteur compare cet évènement aux effets de la consécration des chevaux chez les anciens Indiens et chez les Kalmuks et les Mongoles actuels. Chez ces peuples il était et est défendu sous des sevères peines de monter les chevaux consacrés."

The next two memoirs of his noticed by the Professor are on certain gold rings on which the ancient Scandinavians took oaths. In the first of these—

" l'auteur attire l'attention aux anneaux, sur lesquels les Scandinaves aux temps du paganisme portaient la main en prêtant serment. Plusieurs de ces anneaux ont été trouvés dans la terre est sont conservés dans les musées du Nord. Ils sont faits d'une barre d'or, courbée en forme d'un anneau oval dont les bouts, qui sont un peu plus larges que la partie intermédiaire, ne se touchant pas, mais laissant une petite ouverture entre eux. Pour prouver, que la manière susdite de prêter serment tire son origine de l'Orient, M. H. donne sur la 1 re planche les dessins de 4 anneaux, un de Norvège, un de l'Angleterre, un de Bretagne, et un de Persépolis. Les trois premiers sont d'or, le quatrième se trouve parmi les sculptures de Peréspolis ; le dernier ressemble

tout à fait celui de Bretagne, où on voit dans la grande procession sacrificale des hommes portant en mains levées de tels anneaux. Puisque les sacrifices et la jurisdiction étaient ordinairement réunis dans les grandes assemblées des peuples payens, les anneaux à serment défendent leur place dans la procession sacrificale. A la 1re. pl. on voit aussi le dessin d'une monnaie celtique, dont l'avers présente un homme portant en main un anneau de la forme susdite (symbole de la jurisdiction), et sur le revers un animal et un couteau dessous (symbole du sacrifice). L'auteur émet ensuite l'opinion, que les sculptures Sassanides en Perse où on voit deux personnes portant couronne, dont l'une présente un anneau et l'autre pose sa main là-dessus, représentant le chef des Mages, le grand-mobed, qui reçoit le serment du roi, qui vient de monter sur le throne. Les planches 2, 3 et 4 donnent les dessins de trois des sculptures sus-nommées. A la fin l'auteur donne une liste des poids de 37 anneaux d'or à serment, pour mettre les lecteurs en état de juger, si les fabricants, comme quelques archéologues ont pensé, eurent eu le dessein de leur donner un certain poids correspondant avec les poids convenus ou non; l'auteur en doute.

"Dans le second mémoire M. H. defend son interprétation des sculptures Sassanides contre un savant Danois, M. Müller, qui pense, que le symbole du serment ne consiste pas dans l'anneau, mais dans le poing que le roi tient devant la bouche (v. pl. 1 et 2 de M. H.). L'auteur objecte contre cette opinion que sur plusieurs sculptures on voit des personnes avec le poing devant la bouche se trouvant dernière les personnages principaux et même tournant le dos envers eux.

The following is the substance of a paper by the learned Professor on the numbers 108 and 13:—

Chez les Indiens, aussi bien que chez les Bouddhistes autre part, le nombre 108 a depuis des temps immémorials obtenu le crédit de posseder un pouvoir magique, et son emploi est très repandu où il est question de cérémonies religieuses. Leur Roudrákshas ou chapelets contiennent partout 108 globules ou corails. Déja au 3me siècle avant notre ère le puissant monarque Asoka fit reciter 108 prières à la consécration d' un Tope, et environ 100 ans plus tard le roi Dhutthagamini de Ceylan fit employer plusieurs articles au nombre de 108, lorsque le grand Tope, Mahathupa, fut bâti. Plusieurs temples de l'Inde contiennent 108 Lingas ou symboles du dieu

Çiva. La veuve du Raja Tilouka Chandra fit bâtir 108 temples pour le culte de Çiva, et on y plaça 108 Lingas et 108 images du boeuf sacré. Dans quelques réglements il est préscrit de se promener 108 fois autour de l'image des dieu. L'auteur émét la conjecture que l'influence du même nombre s'est fait sentir dans l'emploi du nombre 540, qui selon le rapport de l'ancienne Edda fut le nombre des portes de Valhal, la demeure d'Odin, le suprème dieu des Scandinaves; car $540 = 5 \times 108$, et le nombre 5 a aussi joui de la renommée d'un nombre merveilleux. Si nous resolvons le nombre 108 dans ses éléments, nous aurons $2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3$, et la somme de ces éléments est 13. Or le nombre 108 une fois reconnu sacré, la somme de ces éléments ne doit pas avoir trouvé difficile d'acquérir le même crédit. Les Bouddhistes de Népal enseignent, qu'il y a 13 bhuwanas ou demeures après la mort pour les vrais croyants, et par conséquent ils construisent sur leurs bâtiments sacrés des tours, ayant 13 étages. Dans une légende Tibétaine on trouve la déscription d'une contrée ravissante, où il croissaient trois fois treize (sic) sortes de fleurs, et 108 sortes de plantes odoriferantes, et qui étaiént arrosées par 108 sources. Les devins de la Çhine se servent d' une baguette divinateuse divisée en 13 paliers.

Une confiance égale dans le nombre 13 se découvre en Scandinavie dans l'emploi de 13 pierres placées debout formant des circles, qui marquent les places où des reliques de personnes d'importance ont été enterrées. Quoique ce nombre n'est pas l'ordinaire, il est cependant remarquable qu' on le trouve assez souvent. L'auteur cite entre autres par ex. une paroisse en Norvège, où il restent encore trois tels circles de 13 pierres chaqu'un.

Concernant la raison de choisir le nombre 108 l'auteur propose diverses hypothèses, parmi lesquelles il trouve celle la plus vraisemblable que le choix est dérivé de quelques idées astrologiques ou astronomiques. L'ancien astronome Varáha ayant calculé la prècession du point équinoxial du printémps, crut avoir trouvé, qu' il procède pendant 3,000 ans vers l'Orient, parcourant 27° du zodiaque, retourne ensuite ver l'Occident, passant 54° du même, et enfin retourne vers le point de départ par 27°, ayant fait en tout un passage de 108°.

La dérivation du nombre des portes de Valhal, la demeure du dieu suprème des Scandinaves, d'un nombre sacré (5×108) a son

analogue dans la dérivation du nombres des portes de la demeure du dieu suprême des Kalmuques et des Mongoles, dont le nombre 169 est $= 13 \times 13$.

The following is the substance of a very interesting memoir affording curious traces of the worship of S'iva in Europe in former times :—

Pour se fournir de matériaux à une comparaison entre les traces de Çivaisme en Europe (hors la Grèce et l'Italie) et les idées Indiennes sur Çiva ou Rudra, l'auteur donne d' abord un court aperçu des qualités de ce dieu. Comme point de départ pour la comparaison il cite un mémoire de M. Ganjal, sur une idole Gauloise appelée Ruth (inséré dans les Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France T. IX p. 61 fig. v.) dans lequel il prouve qui les deux anciennes villes Rode (dite Ruthero par les Romains) et Rouen (dite Rotomagus) derivent leurs noms d' une idole nommée Ruth ou Roth qui avait été adorée par les habitans des villes et des environs, et dans le culte de laquelle les débauches jouaient le rôle prédominant. M. Ganjal tire de là la conclusion que Ruth fut la même divinité que Roudra ou Çiva des Indiens.

M. Holmboe donne ensuite une liste de noms propres de villes et d'autres places en Europe, qui éveillent l'idée d'une derivation de Roudra, p. e. Rhoden, Rodenacher, Rodenberg, Rodenthin, Rottenburg, Rottenfels, Rhode, Ruhte, Ratheborg &c. en Allemagne ; et Rutland, Ruthwel, Ruthin en Angleterre ; Rot, Rotholet, Rotnoe en Norvége. Comme dans l'Inde Rudra, à la tête des Maroutes (les vents), est la personification de l'ouragan, ainsi en Europe l'ouragan est personifié par un chasseur farouche (en Hannover appelé Rodo) courant dans l'air, suivi d'un grand cortège. En Norvège et en Suède on a trouvé un nombre de Lingas (symbole ordinaire de Çiva), une fois debout sur un tumulus, une fois dans la chambre sépulcrale d'un autre tumulus, et plusieurs fois autre part. Ils sont fabriqués de marbre ou d'une autre pierre blanchâtre. Le musée de Bergen conserve quatre de ces pièces (voyez les tailles en bois aux pages 24, 25, et 26). Dans une ancienne loi ecclésiastique de Norvège on rencontre une expression, qui jusqu'ici n'a pas été comprise, c'est le mot *Rot*, qui se trouve dans une énumeration d'articles payens que la loi défend d'avoir dans les maisons, comme sorcier, idole, &c. L'auteur suppose que Rot

a été le nom du linga, emprunté de Roudra. Il cite d'une ancienne rédaction de l'histoire du roi Saint Olaf, qui introduisit le Christianisme en Norvège, un récit d'une famille payenne demeurant dans la province Nordland, qui adorait le linga d' un cheval, qu' on avait tué, mais dont on avait conservé le veretrum. Les soirs cette pièce passait de main en main non seulement parmi les personnes de la famille, mais encore parmi les hôtes qui pussent être presents, chaqu'une récitait un verset en délivrant l'idole à une autre. L'auteur pense que c'est la forme du linga qui a été imitée par quelques urnes sépulcrales, qui ont été découvertes dans les celles de plusieurs tumuli, car elles sont cylindriques et arrondies au fond, (voyez p. 33, où une de Norvège, une d'Angletere et une de l'Inde sont dessinées). Plusieurs de ces urnes sont ornées de figures émoulées en forme d'ovales. Le musée de l'Université de Christiania en possède quatre ornées respectives de 13, de 39 (3 × 13), de 14 (2 × 7) et de 21 (3 × 7) ovales, or les nombres sacrés de 13 et de 7 entraient dans tous ces nombres,—preuve qu'on les a destinés à un usage religieux, et que les ovales peut-être aussi désignent les œufs, étant symboles de métempsychose ;—une doctrine, dont on trouve aussi des traces en Scandinavie. La même idée parait être symbolisée par les pierres en forme d'œufs, dont on a trouvé des exemplaires aussi bien dans les celles de topes de l'Afghanistân, que dans celles des tumuli de Scandinavie. M. H. renvoie ensuite à un mémoire, qu'il publia en 1859 sur le type de plusieurs bractées d' or, dont les musées du Nord conservent un nombre considérable, deterrés parfois de tumuli payens. Il y a démontré que le type représente Çiva sur le dos du bœuf sacré (Nandi). Preuves, que le culte Indien du bœuf a penetré dans la Scandinavie sont des légendes de vaches sacrées, qu'adoraient un roi de Norvège nommé Augvald et un roi de Suède, appelé Eustein Beli. Augvald étant mort, ces reliques furent deposés dans un tumulus, et sa vache dans un autre à côté de celui du roi ; et en Danemark on a au milieu d' un tumulus trouvé le squelette d' un bœuf. Un nombre si considérable de traces du Çivaisme prouve évidemment, que le culte de Çiva ou Roudra a été très répandu en Europe au temps du paganisme.

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